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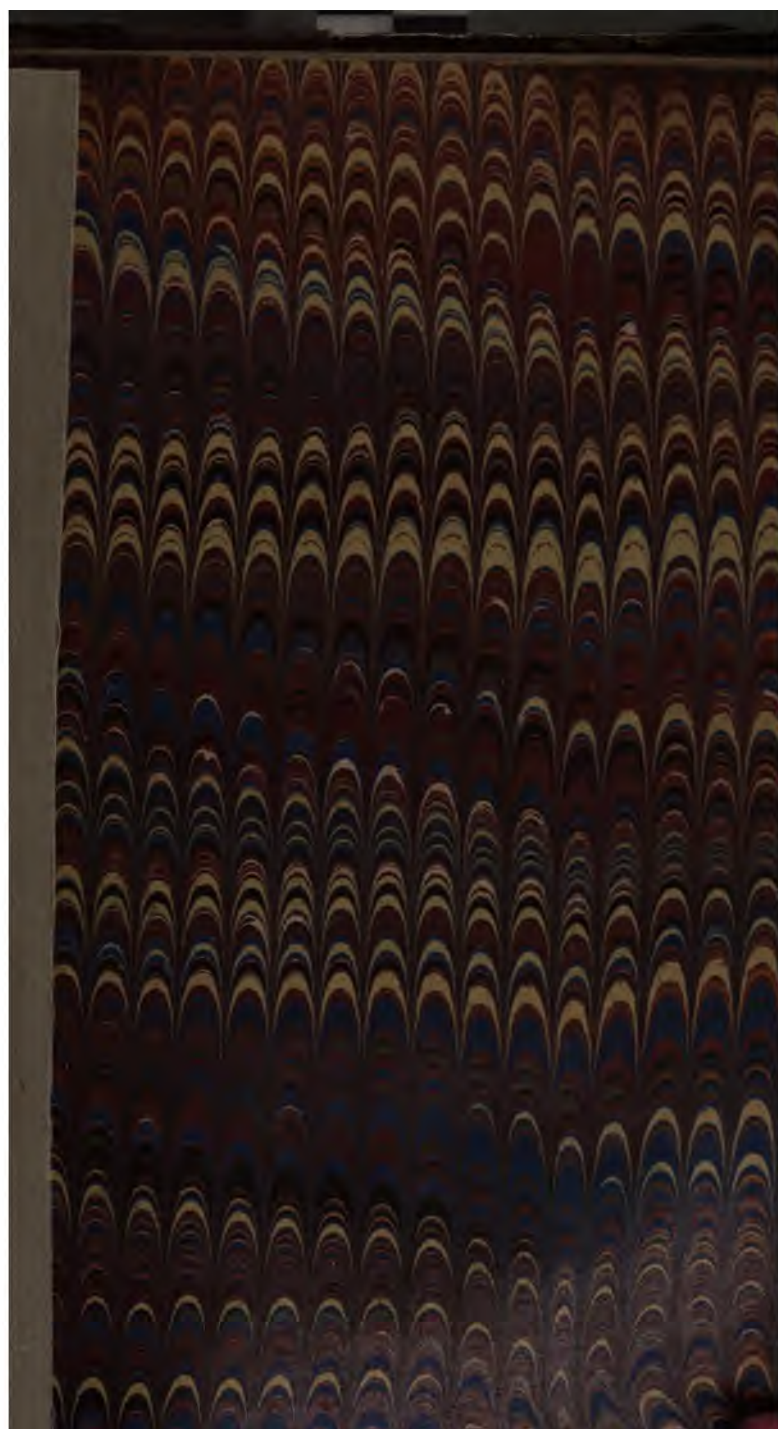


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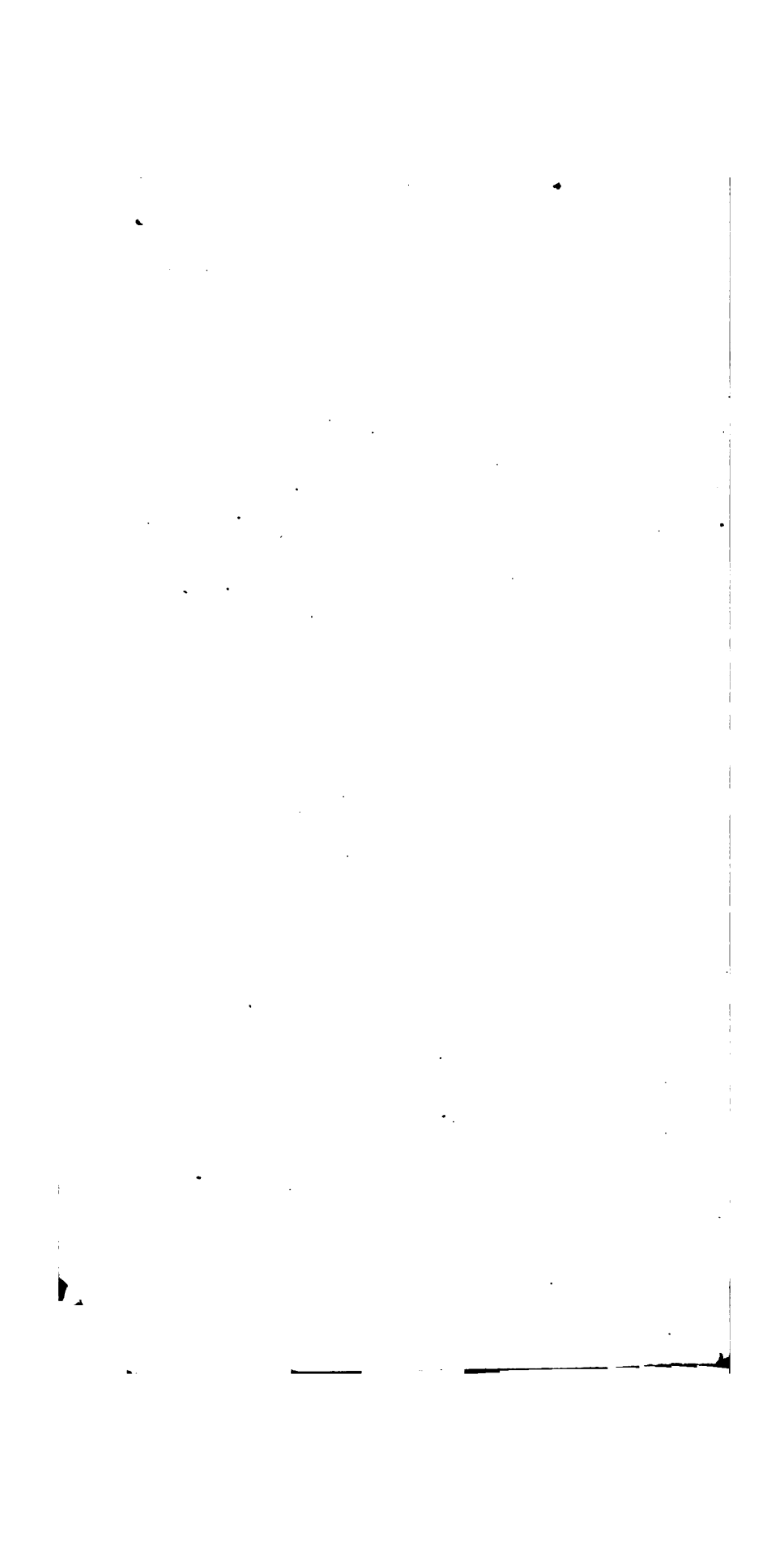
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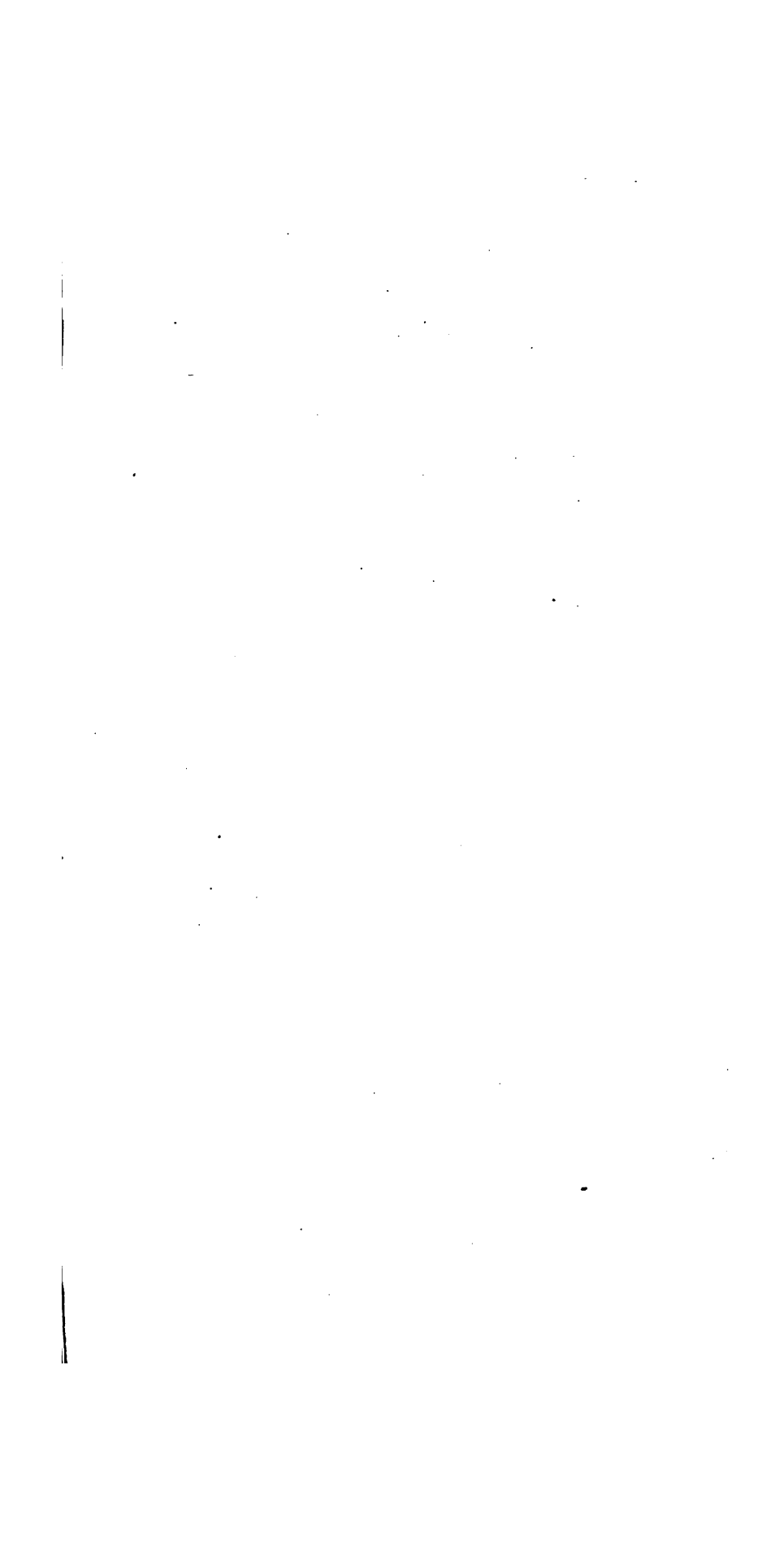
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*Anne Boleyn.*

*And Jan<sup>y</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1862 by Longman, Hurst, Ross, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster Row, London.*

MEMOIRS  
OF  
*THE LIFE*  
OF  
ANNE BOLEYN,

QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

---

By MISS BENDER,  
"AUTHOR OF MEMOIRS OF MRS. ELIZABETH HAMILTON,  
JOHN TOBIN, &c.

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SECOND EDITION.

*IN TWO VOLUMES.*

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## CHAPTER VI.

### COMMENCEMENT OF THE PROCESS FOR THE DIVORCE.

**D**URING a long series of years, Cardinal Wolsey had been the envied favorite of fortune, contending with monarchs in power, and surpassing them in magnificence.

The establishment of his household was truly regal \* ; and whenever he left his palace, it was with the air of a conqueror

\* Three tables were served in his hall within the palace. In his kitchen presided a master-cook, habited in a suit of velvet or satin, and decorated with a chain of gold : a superfluous population of yeomen and grooms swarmed in each department, having under them a troop of menials, by whom its duties were effectively executed. The chapel was served with a dean, and forty persons of various denominations. Eight hundred individuals are said to have been in his household.

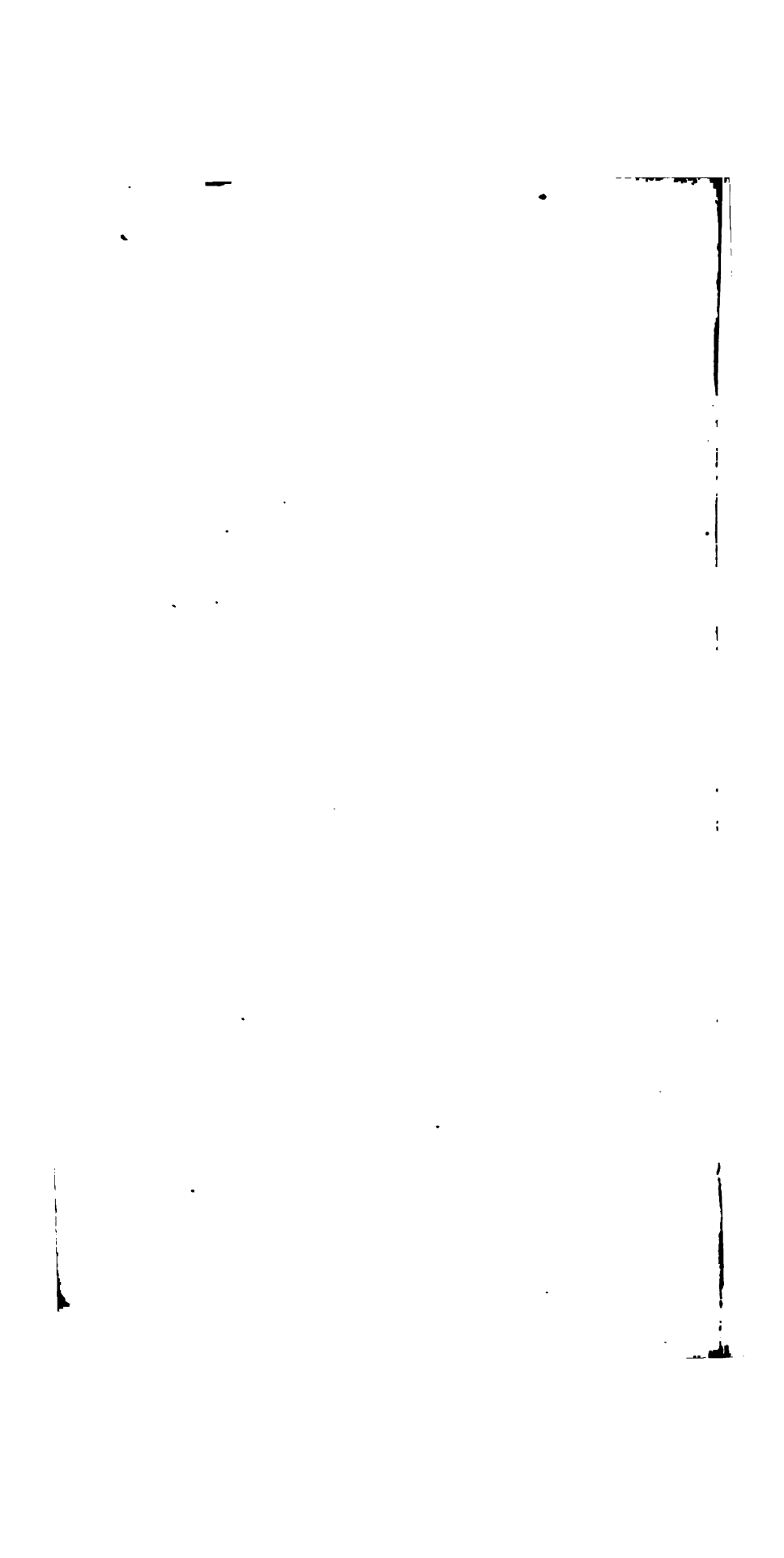
who demanded a triumph. During term time, his daily progress to Westminster Hall was watched and hailed like the pageant of a public festival. Habited in crimson robes, with a tippet of black sables about his neck, he mounted, with a semblance of apostolical humility, a mule trapped in crimson velvet. Before him were borne, in state the symbols of his authority : — first was displayed the broad seal of England; the Cardinal's hat was then exhibited; two red crosses next attracted the eye ; and beyond marched two pillar-bearers in solemn state\* : on either side rode nobles and gentlemen ;

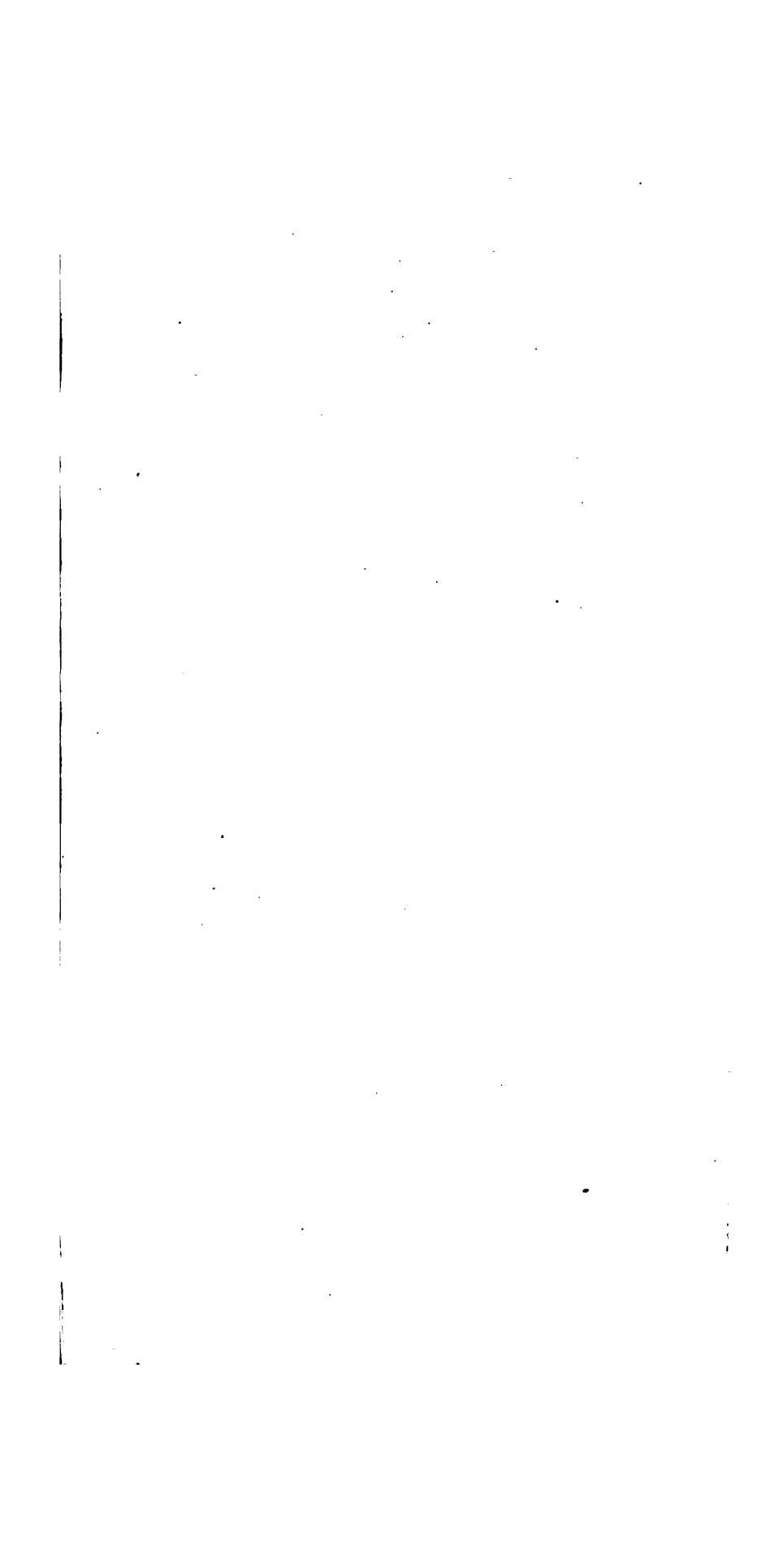
\* This procession is thus described by Skelton : —

With worldly pomp incredible,  
 Before him rideth two prestes stronge,  
 And they bear two crosses right longe,  
 Gapyng in every man's face :  
 After them follow two laymen secular,  
 And eache of them holdinge a pillar,  
 In their handes stead of a mace.  
 Then followeth my Lord on his mule,  
 Trapped with gold.  
 Then hath he servants five or six score,  
 Some behind and some before.

whilst four footmen preceded the Cardinal's mule, each presenting the gilt poleaxe, the ensign of justice, to the awe-stricken spectator. Wherever the sublime Legate approached, he was greeted with spontaneous obeisance ; " On, on my masters !" was vociferated from every quarter : " Room for the Cardinal ! make way for my Lord Cardinal !" On alighting at the Hall he was surrounded by numerous suitors, to whom he assumed an air of courtesy, rather condescending than gracious ; and it was observed that he often applied to his nostrils a hollow orange, filled with sponge steeped in aromatics and vinegar, avowedly to protect himself from contagion. Owing to a defect of sight, his looks seemed averted from the misery which sometimes reached his ear without touching his heart. Such was Wolsey, the butcher's son, — the Boy-Batchelor of Magdalen College, — the adventurer of Calais ! Every morning witnessed the renewal of these honors, and







It is a melancholy reflection, that, in civilised as in barbarous nations, the most unoffending or meritorious individuals are often the victims immolated to the insatiable spirit of conquest, or the calculations of sordid policy. Of this truth, one of the best scholars of the age, Dr. Richard Pace, (the meritorious successor to Dean Colet, at St. Paul's,) was destined to become the unfortunate example. Eminently distinguished by that elegance and delicacy of taste which seem in unison with correct moral feeling : he had attracted Henry's notice by the purity and eloquence of his Latin compositions ; and was frequently employed by him as a diplomatic agent in Germany and Italy. Seduced by the blandishments of royal favor, this almost ascetic recluse, to whom a library was in reality dearer than a kingdom, suffered himself to be drawn into the snares of Wolsey's tortuous policy, and undertook to remit the subsidy to the imperial

commission at Venice. Unpractised in duplicity, he was wholly unsuspecting of dishonorable conduct; and, attributing to accident alone the suspension of the monthly stipend, actually raised, on his own credit, a considerable sum, though totally inadequate to the demand of the imperial agents. It was in vain he reiterated his importunities for money; and he became at length convinced that application was as hopeless as unavailing: but the discovery came too late to indemnify him either in fortune or reputation; and such was his nice sense of honor and integrity, and such his abhorrence of the transaction in which he had unwarily been involved, that he suddenly withdrew from all society; and after alternate paroxysms of melancholy and phrenzy, expired in a prison.\*

\* See Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth. The same circumstances are alluded to in Holinshed and Speed. It has been said, that he was committed to the Tower by Wolsey.



apology for his former epistle, in which he retracted the abuse he had lavished on Henry, by transferring it to Wolsey, and heartily congratulated the King, on being at length emancipated from the thrall of popery. To this ill-timed epistle Henry, who was about to solicit the Pope's assistance, and depended on the Cardinal's co-operation, returned an ungracious answer, vindicating his minister from the aspersions of the Reformer, whose congratulations and compliments he disclaimed with ineffable contempt.

It is well known how tedious was the imprisonment of Francis in Spain, how ungenerous the treatment he received, and on what hard terms he finally obtained his enlargement. Henry rejoiced at his restoration, since he hoped by his aid to fortify himself against the opposition which he foresaw must arise, on the Emperor's part, to his aunt's degradation. The necessities of Francis furnished cogent motives for

cultivating Henry's friendship. He eagerly dispatched an embassy to England, to propose a treaty of marriage between his second son, Henry Duke of Orleans, and the Princess Mary. During this negotiation, the Bishop of Tarbes, (who took an active part in the embassy,) instigated by Wolsey, or probably solicited by Lord Rochford, started a doubt respecting the legitimacy of the Princess, which was evidently meant to convey an insinuation against the validity of her mother's marriage. This first step was probably intended to prepare the public for the discussions which were hereafter to take place; and to mature the plan, Wolsey once more visited France with the most splendid suite ever attached to an embassy, and was received by Francis with honours never before granted to any subject.\* At Amiens, he

\* This embassy is most delightfully described by Cavendish; from whom we learn, that in honor of Wolsey the prisons were thrown open, and even the

was met by the King, his mother, and sister; when, more effectually to secure his master's interest, he proposed his marriage with Rénée, the sister-in-law of Francis, afterwards united to the Duke of Ferrara; a proof that at this moment he did not regard Anne Boleyn as wholly invincible.

The real drift of the Cardinal's negotiations seemed involved in almost anagrammatical perplexity. In public he proposed the redemption of the Pope's liberty; in private, he dwelt on the possibility of detaching England for ever from Austria; and from this process of reasoning, the expediency of promoting the divorce followed as a self-evident proposition. Whilst Wolsey was thus employed at Amiens, the King's agents in Rome were equally active,

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execution of prisoners suspended: and, to crown the whole, he was met by the Regent Louisa, and the Duchess of Alanson, attended by a hundred young ladies, each riding a white palfrey,

and Clement, who languished in captivity, and depended on Henry to furnish money for his ransom, readily promised compliance with his wishes, actually offering a bull of dispensation, which he well knew must be invalid till he obtained his liberty.\* Aware of this circumstance, Wolsey demanded the appointment of vicar-general, by which (armed with the Pope's delegated authority) he could venture to dispense the indulgence required: to this suggestion Clement dared not, and Francis sought not to oppose objections; and Wolsey, elate with hope, returned to England, exulting in the success of his negociation, for which his sovereign requited him, not only with smiles and thanks, but with what he would have gladly spared — the disclosure of his engagement with Anne Boleyn.† To the Cardinal no communication could

\* Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth. De Carte's History.

† See Cavendish, who expressly states the fact.

have been less acceptable ; but he had long since discovered, that opposition served only to strengthen Henry's resolutions. He trusted therefore to time and chance, to effect some alteration in the purpose, to which he apparently lent himself with dutiful alacrity ; and as a preliminary step convened the bishops, and most eminent divines, to whom he propounded, on the ground of scriptural prohibitions, the scruples of the King's conscience.\* The result of this conference was such as might have been expected ; the more obsequious cor-

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\* It has been pretended by Sanders, that Anne Boleyn engaged divines devoted to her interests, to act on the King's conscience. This remark refutes itself, not only because it is palpable that his scruples originated in his inclinations, but because he was too expert in theological controversy to require such assistance, and had actually determined to rest his cause on a single passage in Leviticus. If Anne Boleyn ever sent divines to Henry, it was at a subsequent period, when he really entertained a scruple, or at least betrayed a repugnance to casting off the Pope's authority.

dially assenting, whilst the more rigid acquiesced in silence : but they, with one exception, all subscribed the declaration, that to marry a brother's widow was unlawful. It was reserved for Fisher alone, the Bishop of London, the purity of whose morals sanctified even his bigotry, and who evinced, with the strictness of an ascetic, the heroism of a martyr, to maintain a contrary opinion.

Dismayed by the success that crowned his appeal to the divines, Wolsey obtained some relief from the intelligence, that, whilst the imperialists were endeavouring to extort still harder terms of ransom, the Pope had escaped from St. Angelo to Orvieto, where he was more free to exercise his supreme prerogative. At the first glance the Cardinal calculated the probabilities contingent on this event ; and whilst he recommended to his secretary, and to the almoner, Fox, to redouble their diligence and perseverance, he foresaw with

satisfaction the impediments likely to arise to the progress of their negociation.

Of all women, Anne Boleyn was probably the last whom he would have chosen to succeed Catharine. Independent of the repugnance which so proud a man as Wolsey must naturally have experienced in witnessing the elevation of one long regarded as belonging to an inferior station, he could not but recollect the hostility which, with the exception of her father, he had shown to all her nearest relatives and connections, nor entirely dismiss the suspicion that they would repay, with interest, the mortifications formerly inflicted by his pride or malevolence. But, perhaps, a still more cogent motive for alienation existed in Anne's supposed bias to Lutheranism, which to Wolsey, who cherished for the Catholic church the most bigoted devotion, was a crime of no common delinquency.

It is not indeed very likely, that this gay and beautiful woman had entered

deeply into polemical controversy ; but she was decidedly opposed to the severity of that penal inquisition established by the Cardinal's legatine authority.\* To the offence of reading Tindall's heretical books, she added the more heinous trespass of attempting to shield persecuted authors, and their unfortunate admirers, from obloquy and punishment.† Not without reason, therefore, did Wolsey deprecate

\* By virtue of his legatine authority, the Cardinal had not only engrossed to himself the prerogative formerly possessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, of giving probates of wills, but instituted a regular commission for the detection and punishment of heresy. To be in possession of Tindall's Bible, at that time, constituted heresy. It was in 1527, when Wolsey assumed the title of the Pope's vicar-general, that he established a court at Westminster for the cognizance of heretical pravity, and a court in York House for the probates of wills. — See Fox. Strype's Memorials. Collier.

† Of this many instances are given by ecclesiastical writers. Her kindness in this respect was so notorious, that authors used, privately, to send their works for protection to Anne Boleyn.



Henry's union with a woman as much disposed to protect the followers of Luther, as her prototype, Anne of Bohemia \*, had been to encourage the disciples of Wickliffe. But whatever might be his real sentiments, he affected to take unremitted interest in her advancement. On her part, Anne either was, or appeared to be, perfectly persuaded of his sincerity ; and, to judge by the following letter, repaid his liberal professions with equally lively demonstrations of cordiality and friendship.

“ My Lord ;

“ After my most humble commendations, this shall be to give unto your  
 “ Grace, as I am most bound, my humble  
 “ thanks for the great pain and travell that  
 “ your Grace doth take in studying by  
 “ your wisdom and great diligence how to

\* The wife of Richard the Second, under whose auspices the Bible was translated into English.

“bring to pass honourably the greatest  
 “wealth that is possible to come to any  
 “creature living, and in especial, remem-  
 “bering how wretched and unworthy I  
 “am in comparing to his highness; and  
 “for you I do know myself never to have  
 “deserved by my deserts that you should  
 “take this great pain for me: yet daily of  
 “your goodness I do perceive by all my  
 “friends; and though that I had not know-  
 “ledge by them, the daily proof of your  
 “deeds doth declare your words and  
 “writing toward me to be true. Now,  
 “good my Lord, your discretion may con-  
 “sider, as yet, how little it is in my power  
 “to recompense you, but all only with my  
 “good will, the which I assure you that,  
 “after this matter is brought to pass, you  
 “shall find me as I am bound. In the  
 “mean time, to owe you my service,  
 “and then look what thing in this world  
 “I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you  
 “shall find me the gladdest woman in the

" world to do it. And next unto the  
 " King's grace, of one thing I make you  
 " full promise, to be assured to have it,  
 " and that is my hearty love unfeignedly  
 " during my life. And being fully deter-  
 " mined, with God's grace, never to change  
 " this purpose, I make an end of this my  
 " rude and true meaned letter, praying  
 " our Lord to send you much increase of  
 " honour, with long life. Written with  
 " the hand of her that beseeches your  
 " Grace to accept this letter, as proceed-  
 " ing from one that is most bound to be,  
 " Your humble and obedient servant,  
 " ANNE BOLEYN."

In reading this letter, we must either  
 conclude that Anne Boleyn had pardoned  
 Wolsey's former offence, or that she was a  
 practiced adept in duplicity; a quality  
 which in no other instance she was ever  
 found to possess, and for which she even  
 appears to have been incapacitated by the

facility and even the impetuosity of her temper. It is unlikely that the woman, who in no other instance evinced a vindictive character, should have cherished eternal hatred against Wolsey, for a disappointment in which she must long since have discovered the basis of her splendid fortune. It is, however, not improbable that she had been disgusted by Wolsey's forwardness in promoting the King's dishonorable addresses; and that, as the Cardinal's personal conduct was such as to preclude esteem, his professions might naturally inspire distrust. In justice to Anne Boleyn, it should be remembered, that she had employed no artifice to obtain that pre-eminence in the King's regard, for which she was now alternately envied and flattered, hated and caressed. Compelled by his preference to renounce a prior attachment, she had rejected his passion with disdain, till it assumed the character of honorable love. Even after Henry approached her

with a legitimate object, she is said to have expressed repugnance to the idea of supplanting her Queen, and of uniting her destiny to one so far removed from her own station ; but her scruples respecting Catharine, if they ever existed, soon yielded to theological arguments against the marriage, or political reasons in favour of the divorce : even her prophetic fears of Henry's inconstancy, or caprice, submitted to the passion for aggrandizing her family, to dreams of regal greatness, and romantic anticipations of fame and glory.\*

\* “ Some, with the ladie herself, plotted to break,  
 “ or stay at the least, till something might fall be-  
 “ tweene the cup and the lip, that might break all  
 “ this purpose ; with one of them, if it might have  
 “ bin, and verily one of them might seem, for this  
 “ present occasion, not unmeet to be recounted,  
 “ which was this : — Ther was conveyed to her a book  
 “ pretending old prophecies, wherein was repre-  
 “ sented the figure of some personages, with the letter  
 “ H. upon one, and A. upon another, and K. upon  
 “ the third, which an expounder therupon took upon  
 “ him to interpret by, the King and his wives ; and

It is worthy of remark, that even Cavendish \*, the servant and eulogist of Wolsey, although he complains of her ill offices to his master, adduces against her no other proof of arrogance, or malevolence, and far from insinuating suspicions injurious to

“ to her personage certain destruction, if she married  
 “ the King. This book coming into her chamber,  
 “ she opened, and finding the contents, called to her  
 “ maid, of whom we have spoken afore, and who also  
 “ bore her name. Come hither, Nan, said she; see  
 “ here a book of prophecies; this, he said, is the  
 “ King; this the Queen, mourning and wringing her  
 “ hands; and this is myself with my head off. The  
 “ maid answered, If I thought it true, though he were  
 “ an Emperor, I would not myself marry him, with  
 “ that condition. Tut, Nan, replied the lady, I  
 “ think the book a babel; yet for the hope I have,  
 “ that this realm may be happy by my issue, I am  
 “ resolved to have him, whatever might become of  
 “ me.” —Wiatt’s Queene Anne Bolen. This circumstance is also adverted to by Fox.

\* By Cavendish, her chastity is unimpeached, and he expressly says, she flourished in general estimation. Yet Cavendish composed his memoirs of Wolsey during the reign of Mary, to whom nothing could be so acceptable as abuse of Anne Boleyn.

her fame, contents himself with alluding to her habits of dress, and magnificence, and her keen relish for gaiety and luxury. In Anne Boleyn, the love of power appears to have been tempered, if not corrected, by benevolence. Of the mercenary calculation usually discovered in female favourites, she was absolutely incapable. She might be susceptible of flattery, or caprice, but spurned the meanness of either seeking or accepting a venal recompence, and never were her services bartered for gold. With her vanity was mingled a pardonable enthusiasm, inspired by the persuasion, that she was predestined to achieve some great object, a persuasion carefully fostered by the partisans of the Reformation, who hovered round her with demonstrations of zeal and devotion.\*

\* Anne was a devout admirer of Tindall's works, and particularly of his *Christian Obedience*, which, with other heretical books, had been proscribed by

Amidst all these brilliant prospects, it was impossible that she should always forget her privations in exchanging, for dry dis-

---

Cardinal Wolsey ; of this work a curious anecdote, related by Wiatt, is corroborated in Strype's Memorials. In reading books, she made, on such passages as she most relished, private marks, which could be understood only by her familiar friends. Tindall's volume lying in her gentlewoman's apartment, was by her lover purloined, and carried to another house, and afterwards accidentally fell into the hands of Wolsey's chaplain, by whom it came into the Cardinal's possession. Observing Anne Boleyn's annotations, he instantly carried the book to the King, thinking his affections would be alienated on discovering her heretical principles ; but Anne, who had anticipated his intentions, had already not only obtained Henry's absolution for reading the book, but prevailed on him to read it with her, and to become its advocate. There is some discrepancy in the account given by Strype and Wiatt. The latter is palpably incorrect, since he represents Ann as being already married, which was not till after the Cardinal's death ; but both persist in attributing the motive to Wolsey. It is notorious, that the persecution for heresy was considerably remitted after her marriage, which may in part be ascribed to her influence.



quisitions of polemics and politicians, the wit and eloquence of Wiatt, the vivacity of Sir Francis Brian, or the gaiety and elegance of her brother's conversation. That she passionately admired Wiatt's poems is well known; and it may fairly be presumed, she was at least equally sensible to the charms of his conversation, which was confessedly still more attractive: but the influence of his society must have inflamed her ambition to signalize herself as a reformer, since the arrogance and corruption of the Roman hierarchy formed his favorite theme of satire, on which he wrote, and spoke with equal spirit; and the sentiments expressed in the following lines, though written ten years after, had long been habitual to his mind.

I am not now in France, to judge the wine,  
 With savoury sauce and delicates to feed,  
 Nor yet in Spain, where one must him incline,  
 Rather than to be, outwardly to seem:  
 I meddle not with wits that be so fine.  
 Nor Flanders cheer letteth not my sight to deem

Of black and white, nor taketh my rest away  
 With beastliness, they beasts do so esteem.  
 Nor I am not where Christ is given in prey,  
 For money, poison, and trahison at Rome,  
 A common practice, used night and day ;  
 But here I am, in Kent, in Christendom.

It may be doubted, whether Ann had naturally any aptitudes to the character of a stateswoman ; but her deficiencies were well supplied by her father, or, in his absence, her brother ; and she was unhappily under the influence of her secret enemy the Duke of Norfolk, who sought, by her means, to displace Wolsey, but was wholly indifferent to her real interest or prosperity. Of all her familiar associates the most congenial to her taste and temper were Wiatt, and her brother, George Boleyn, his chosen friend, and in some personal qualities his acknowledged rival. Like his sister, this young cavalier was distinguished by the elegant symmetry of his form, and the winning sweetness of his manners : like his companion, he loved and cultivated poetry ; nor is it a feeble

commendation of his talents to add, that his verses were often associated with the poems of Surrey, and sometimes mistaken for the productions of Wiatt's pen. With these young and brilliant reformers were connected Sir Francis Brian, a veteran cavalier, and the youthful Earl of Surrey, about not only to build the lofty rhyme, but to raise, in the production of blank verse, a monument of his taste and genius, imperishable as the English language.

Henry Howard was at once the favorite of nature and fortune; but, like Wiatt, and the accomplished George Boleyn, he had been united, by parental authority, to the Lady Frances Vere, before he was of an age to form a deliberate choice. His fancy was captivated by another object, whom he has immortalised by the name of Geraldine, but who participated so little in his passion, that she voluntarily pledged her nuptial faith to the old but wealthy diplomatist, Sir Anthony Brown. By a similar fate. Wiatt had given his hand, without his

heart, to Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord Cobham. After the impetuous season of youth was past, both these marriages were productive of as much happiness as is commonly to be found in domestic life; but for George Boleyn was reserved a less fortunate destiny. In pledging his faith to the daughter of Lord Morley, a nobleman celebrated for literary taste and talent, he probably offered no violence to his inclinations, since the bride was young and handsome, and the connection advantageous and honorable; but as the lady's character developed, he detected in it qualities the most adverse to domestic peace and harmony. To an inflammable and stubborn temper, she united pride, jealousy, and malignity; and, fatally for her husband, these passions were soon excited by Anne Boleyn, whom she envied for her attractions, or detested for her celebrity. Another circumstance conspired, not only to heighten, but, in her own eyes, perhaps, to justify her hatred. As a rigid Catholic,

she regarded not merely with antipathy, but abhorrence, the Lutheranism of Anne, to whose influence she probably attributed her husband's heretical propensities. It is not known at what period of their marriage her husband became aware of her perverted nature : to the total absence of sympathy and congeniality he was soon conscious. On his part, indifference and perhaps infidelity succeeded to disgust\* ; with her, jealousy contended with hatred, till, finally, she sought to ruin the man she no longer hoped to subjugate. As a poet, George Boleyn is known only on the tablets of fame ; since the individuality of his works is still lost in the mass of contemporaneous productions. But his merits are attested by his companions in life and glory, Surrey and Wyatt, with whose lays his numbers have been often associated, and some of whose

\* The name of Lord Rochford's mistress has not been transmitted ; but it is notorious that he had a natural son, who was educated for the church, and ultimately became Dean of Peterborough.

most admired productions have been attributed to his anonymous pen. \*

\* In the commendatory verses prefixed to Gascoigne's Poems, published in 1575, Lord Rochford is thus associated with Wiatt and Surrey : —

Sweet Surrey swept Parnassus' springs,  
And Wiatt wrote of wond'rous things,  
And Rochford clambe the statelie throne,  
Which muses hold in Helicon.

The following poem, said by Dr. Nott to have been written by Wiatt, has hitherto been invariably attributed to George Boleyn : —

*The Lover complaining of his Love's Unkindness.*

My lute, awake ! — perform the last  
Labour that thou and I shal wast,  
And end that I have now begoune :  
And when this song is sung and past,  
My lute, be still, for I have done.  
As to be heard, where ear is none,  
As lead to grave in marble stone,  
My song may pearse her heart as soon —  
Should we then sigh or sing or mone ?  
No, no, my lute ; for I have done.  
The rocks do not so cruelly,  
Repulse the waves continually,  
As she my sute and affection ;  
So that I am past remedy,  
Whereby my lute and I have done.

During this season of care and perplexity to the King and Queen, Wolsey, and Anne Boleyn, the court was enlivened by a scene of imposing splendor and festivity; and Henry's already impoverished coffers were drained to furnish a magnificent reception to a numerous embassy from France, headed by the grand-master, Montmorenci, who came to present the order of St. Michael to the English monarch, to confer respecting the projected marriage between Henry

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Vengeance shall follow thy disdain,  
 That makest but game of earnest payne:  
     Think not alone, under the sunne,  
 Unquit to cause thy lover's plain,  
     Although my lute and I have done.  
 May chance thee lie, withered and olde  
 In winter nights that are so colde,  
     Playning in vain unto the moone,  
 Thy wishes then dare not be tolde;  
     Care then, who list, for I have done.

Two additional stanzas are admitted in Dr. Nott's edition of Wiatt's Works.

Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary, and privately to suggest the most effective means of promoting the divorce. In honour of these distinguished guests entertainments were given at Hampton Court and Greenwich by Wolsey and Henry ; which Cavenish has detailed with his usual deliciousness of description. On this extraordinary occasion, the Cardinal convened a special council of officers of the kitchen, to whom he delegated unlimited powers in making the arrangements, with a strict injunction to be unsparing of expence. A consultation was next held with all the "caterers and expert cooks that might be gotten to beautify this noble feast." No cessation of labour was allowed to domestics, surveyors, or artisans, till the auspicious day arrived ; when one hundred and eighty French gentlemen were admitted to the palace ; and till the hour of supper came, were conducted to their private apartments. At length the sonorous trumpets



announced the approaching banquet : the visitors were ushered into the magnificent hall ; and whilst the tables were served, “ *such a concert of music was prepared, that the Frenchmen seemed rapt in a heavenly paradise,*” It was not till the end of the second course, that the Cardinal entered, booted and spurred, exclaiming “ *Proface ! Proface !*” \* and with this general salutation gaily welcomed his delighted guests.

In describing the devices of the dishes, Cavendish happily exemplifies the elegant urbanity of Wolsey’s manners : — “ Among  
 “ all, I noted a chess-borde made with  
 “ spice-plate, with men thereof to the  
 “ same. And for the good proportion,  
 “ and because the Frenchmen were very  
 “ cuninge and expert in that play, my  
 “ Lord Cardinall gave the same to a gen-  
 “ tleman of France, commending there a  
 “ goodly care for the preservation thereof,

\* Much good may do you.

“ in all haste, that he might convey the  
 “ same safe into his own country. Then  
 “ toke my Lord a bowle of gold filled with  
 “ hippocras, and putting off his cappe,  
 “ said, I drink to the King, my sovereign  
 “ lorde, and next, to the King your  
 “ master.”

According to Cavendish, the King's  
 treat, which was given at Greenwich \*,

\* Nothing can better illustrate the habits and manners of that age than comparative sketches of their various magnificent entertainments. To the French ambassador who arrived in England in the preceding May, with the Vicomte de Turenne, Henry had provided a gala at Greenwich, which is circumstantially described by Holinshed. “After tilting in the morning, the company repaired to a banqueting-room, a hundred feet in length, which had been prepared for their reception. Under a roof of purple cloth blazed myriads of wax tapers; the walls were hung with tapestry, and three cupboards of plate; and the whole supper was served up in vessels of gold. To rehearse the fare, the strangeness of dishes with devices of beasts and fowls, it were too long; wherefore I will let pass over the supper, with songs, and minstrelsy. The supper was done; the King, the

surpassed that of Hampton Court, as gold doth exceed silver ; “ and,” he adds, “ for

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Queen, and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure ; and then they rose, and passed by a long gallery into another chamber.” — After a very elaborate, though somewhat unintelligible description of this apartment, the chronicler adds, “ the roof of this chamber was cunningly made by the King’s astronomer : on the ground of the roof was made the whole earth, environed with the sea, like a map or chart, and by a cunning making of another cloth the zodiac with the twelve signs, and five circles or girdles, and the two poles appeared on the earth, and water compassing the same ; and in the zodiac were the twelve signs curiously made, and above this were made seven planets, as Mars, Jupiter, Sol, Mercurius, Venus, Saturnus, and Luna, every one in their proper houses, made according to their properties, that it was a cunning thing and a pleasant sight to behold.” The diversions of the evening commenced with a solemn Latin oration, commemorating the peace, the liberation of the French King, and the wisdom of Cardinal Wolsey : to this succeeded a masque, in which the Princess Mary, though only ten years of age, sustained a part. The whole concluded with dancing ; and in the sequel the Queen plucked of the visor from the King’s face, and her example was followed by the other ladies.

“ my parte, I never saw, hearde, or reade  
 “ of the like. After turning at the barrier,  
 “ there was a goodly enterlude in Latin \*.  
 “ this done, there came a number of the  
 “ fairest ladies and gentlewomen that bore  
 “ any bruit of beauty in all the realme, in  
 “ most richest apparel that their tailors  
 “ could invent or devise, to set forth their  
 “ gesture, proportion, and beauty, that they  
 “ seemed to all men to be rather celestial  
 “ angels descended from heaven, than crea-  
 “ tures of flesh and bone; with whom  
 “ these gentlemen of France danced, until  
 “ a gorgeous masque came in, of noble

\* We learn from Holinshed, that the main subject of this Latin composition was the Pope's captivity. St. Peter appeared to the Cardinal, authorising him to deliver the head of the church from bondage. The sons of Francis were introduced, soliciting the Cardinal to intercede for their liberty, which finally was by his means obtained. “ At this play, wise men smiled, and thought it sounded more glorious to the Cardinal than to the matter *in dede*.”

“ gentlemen, who danced and masked with  
 “ these ladies, every man as his fantasy  
 “ served him : that done, and the masquers  
 “ departed, came in another masque of  
 “ ladies, so costly and gorgeously appa-  
 “ relled, that it passeth my wit to manifest  
 “ and declare ; wherefore, lest I should  
 “ rather deface their riches, I leave it un-  
 “ touched. These lady maskers took each  
 “ of them one of the Frenchmen to dance,  
 “ and to mask. Ye shall understand that  
 “ these noblewomen maskers spake good  
 “ French unto the Frenchmen, which de-  
 “ lighted them very much to hear these  
 “ ladies speak to them in their own tongue.  
 “ Thus was this night occupied and con-  
 “ sumed, from five of the clock until two  
 “ or three of the clock after midnight ; at  
 “ which time, it was convenient for all  
 “ estates to draw to their lodgings, and  
 “ to take their rest ; and thus every man  
 “ departed whereas they had most reliefe.”  
 Two days after this brilliant night, the

principal members of the embassy were dismissed with rich presents. A more acceptable messenger shortly after arrived from Rome in the Almoner Fox, whom Gardiner had dispatched with the *ultimatum* of Clement's deliberations. Alternately intimidated by the Emperor and the cardinals, the Pope professed his inability to refuse Catharine the privilege of appealing from the judgment of an arbitrary court: and complained, with bitter tears, that he was placed between the hammer and the forge.\* To evince however his willingness to promote the King's wishes, he commissioned Wolsey and Cardinal Campegio to hear and judge the cause in England, in a court convened by legatine authority. Such was the result of Gardiner's laborious mission, and such the terms conceded to one of the most potent sovereigns in Europe. On any other occasion Henry

\* See Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth. Burnet's History of the Reformation.

would have spurned conditions so inimical to his royal dignity; but now so completely was his pride subjected to a stronger passion, that he not only listened to the alternative without repugnance, but embraced it with rapture, and in the first transports of his joy dispatched the envoy from Greenwich to Westminster, to which he was himself going in a few hours, that not a single moment might be lost in transmitting to Anne Boleyn the welcome tidings. From the lady, Fox experienced a still more cordial reception; but attributing her happiness to the good offices of Gardiner, at that time distinguished by the appellation of Dr. Stevens, she thought of him alone and repeatedly addressed and thanked the messenger in the name of his employer. Before she had suspended her enquiries or her acknowledgments, Henry himself entered; when Anne, recollecting her peculiar situation, with a modest sense of propriety that must have endeared her to

the enamoured monarch, withdrew from the apartment.\*

Whether her advisers suggested doubts which allayed her satisfaction, or whether Henry, on reflection, became more diffident of the Pope's ultimate intentions, they both applied to Wolsey to quicken the Legate's movements, endeavouring to secure his diligence and fidelity, by unlimited professions of gratitude and confidence. The following joint epistle is evidently dictated by anxiety, not quite unmixed with distrust : —

*To Wolsey.*

“ My Lord ;

“ In my most humble wish that my heart  
 “ can think, I desire you to pardon me,  
 “ that I am so bold to trouble you with  
 “ my simple and rude writing, esteeming  
 “ it to proceed from her that is much de-  
 “ sirous to learn that your Grace doeth

\* Burnet. Strype



“ well, as I perceive by this bearer that  
 “ you do, the which I pray God long to  
 “ continue, as I am most bound to pray ;  
 “ for I do know the great pains and  
 “ trouble that you have taken for me,  
 “ both day and night, is never likely to be  
 “ recompensed on my part, but alone in  
 “ loving you, next to the King’s Grace,  
 “ above all creatures living ; and I do not  
 “ doubt that the daily proofs of my deeds  
 “ will manifest, declare, and affirm my  
 “ writing to be true, and I do trust you  
 “ do think the same. My Lord, I do as-  
 “ sure you, I do long to hear from you  
 “ news of the legate ; for I hope an they  
 “ come from you they shall be very good,  
 “ and I am sure you desire it as much as  
 “ I do, and more if it were possible, as I  
 “ know it is not ; and thus remaining in a  
 “ stedfast hope, I make an end of my  
 “ letter, written with the hand of her that  
 “ that is most bound to be —”

To this Henry subjoined the following  
 postscript.

“ The writer of this letter would not  
 “ cease till she had caused me likewise to  
 “ set to my hand, desiring you, though it  
 “ be short, to take it in good part. I as-  
 “ sure you there is neither of us but that  
 “ greatly desires to see you, and much  
 “ more joyous to hear that you have escaped  
 “ this plague so well, trusting the fury  
 “ thereof to be past, especially to him that  
 “ keepeth good diet, as I trust you do.  
 “ The not hearing of the legate arriving  
 “ in France causes us somewhat to muse;  
 “ notwithstanding, we trust, by your dili-  
 “ gence and vigilancy, with the assistance  
 “ of Almighty God, shortly to be eased  
 “ out of that trouble. No more to you at  
 “ this time, but that I pray God send you  
 “ good health and prosperity, as the writer  
 “ would.

“ By your loving sovereign and friend,

“ H. R.

“ Your humble servant,

“ ANNE BOLEYN.” \*

\* Burnet.

The nomination of Cardinal Campegio, a man who had reached his climacteric, and was often confined by gout to his chamber, might with reason excite suspicions of Clement's sincerity; and it appears from the Bishop of Bayonne, Cardinal du Bellai\*, then residing in England, that he was chosen by the connivance or suggestion of Wolsey, partly to afford a convenient pretext for protracting the negociation. Whether this adroit management was detected by Henry or not, it certainly escaped not the penetration of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who retained spies and sentinels in every corner of France, Italy, and Germany; and it was probably owing to his vigilance that Anne entered into a correspondence with Gardiner, which, though concealed from Wolsey, was well known by Henry, who

\* The brother to the historian. He appears to have been a man of the most amiable manners; and during his residence in England endeared himself to the King, the court, and even the people.

was hence enabled to form a correct estimate of his minister's diligence and sincerity.

Whatever suspicions to the prejudice of Wolsey might be created in the King's breast, he was cautious to conceal them from Anne, whose unguarded openness of temper, although it probably formed her peculiar charm to his dark, designing nature, was obviously ill calculated to participate in the mysteries of political intrigue. To himself duplicity was now become habitual. Originally compelled by wayward circumstances to disguise his sentiments, he had condescended to artifice and evasion, till it almost constituted a secret and appropriate source of enjoyment. It was during the process of the divorce that this dark shade of obliquity in his character became fixed and permanent: accustomed to the unbounded indulgence of an imperious will, he could ill brook the necessity of submitting to privation or

restraint ; and having discharged from his mind even that latent sense of moral obligation which hitherto had partially checked the violence of his passions, he scrupled not to employ the most elaborate dissimulation, to ensure their accomplishment. Other vices debase mankind : it is by hypocrisy alone, that the moral sympathies are utterly perverted, and even the original features of humanity effaced. It was during the vexations and entanglements incident to the process of the divorce, that Henry gradually developed those germs of cruelty, which were hereafter to inspire terror and abhorrence.

It is impossible to hear, without disgust, the pretended scruples with which the King attempted to disguise the real motives that impelled him to separate from Catharine. To the bishops he talked of conscience ; to the nobility, of the succession ; whilst, to complete the mockery, he affected to lament the necessity that estranged him

from the Princess, so long and so deservedly beloved. Although the Queen could scarcely have been the dupe of such professions, she affected to pity his delusion, and to hope that the holy men, from whom he sought relief, might restore peace to his wounded mind. For herself, she continued to avow her unalterable conviction that her marriage was true and lawful, since it had been sanctioned by a papal bull of dispensation ; thus resting on a mere theological *quibble* the merits of a cause, which ought to have been sustained by the immutable principles of right and justice. At this moment the interior of the court of England presented a perpetual system of *disguises* and deceptions, infinitely more artificial and imposing than the masques and mummeries from time to time presented to the people. It was remarked that Anne always approached Catharine with respect, and that Catharine treated Anne with

unusual complacency. \* The King and the Queen continued apparently to live in perfect harmony, occupying the same apartment, and dining at the same table ; but it was observed, that whilst the former looked melancholy, the latter seemed unusually cheerful ; and utterly to discountenance an idea privately suggested at Rome, that she should retire to a convent, she adopted a gayer style of dress, encouraged music and dancing, and joined with alacrity in those pleasures she had formerly censured or rejected. Nor was this the only alteration remarked in Catharine's deportment : discarding her wonted habits of reserve, she went voluntarily into public, evidently seeking, by gracious smiles and salutations, to

\* See the Letters of Cardinal du Bellai appended to Le Grand ; and Cavendish, who states that Catharine treated Mrs. Anne Boleyn with the most marked distinction. Wiatt (see the Life of Queen Anne Bolen) maintains that Anne always testified profound respect for her mistress.

ingratiate herself with the people. The effort was repaid with success; the approaching arrival of the Legatę was distasteful to the citizens, already displeased by the interruption of their commerce with Flanders, and now seriously alarmed with denunciations of hostility from Austria. If these commercial considerations operated with one sex against the divorce, the more generous feelings of pity and sympathy were no less imperative on the other; and, to their honor, the women were notoriously the warm and disinterested advocates of Catharine's cause.\* Without entering into theological quibbles or political speculations, they condemned, as cruel, a measure which, however disguised by sophistry and hypocrisy, was in reality only brought forward to gratify the inclinations of one party at the expence of the other; and, for a time, such was the enthusiasm inspired by their influ-

\* Hall. Herbert. Godwin.



ence, that the people protested, with honest vehemence, whoever married the Princess Mary should be their lawful sovereign.\*

During this season of perplexity and distraction, Henry's ill humour exploded in fury against Wolsey; who was so far intimidated, as to write to the Pope, beseeching him to dispatch the Legate without further delay. At length Campegio commenced his journey; but scarcely had Henry hailed these good tidings, when the sweating-sickness became epidemic, and the consequent alarm of infection spread gloom and terror through the court. Anne Boleyn precipitately retreated to a village near Lambeth, whilst the King and Queen, and their attendants, migrated from place to place; and such was the panic created by this awful malady, that, like the physician, the confessor and the lawyer were constantly

\* See the Letters appended to *Le Grand's Histoire du Divorce*; also Lord Herbert and Holinshed.

in requisition. Henry made his will, prayed, and fasted with Catharine, and was supposed to be estranged from Anne, when, in reality, as appears by his letters, she engrossed his thoughts, and was more than ever the object of his tenderness.\* In one of these letters, he says:—

\* “ The uneasiness, my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me extremely, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing a certain account. But now, since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us ; for, when we were at Walton, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother, master-treasurer, fell ill, and are now quite well ; and since we are returned to your house at Hondson (a), we have been perfectly well, God be praised, and have not, at present, one sick person in the family ; and, I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that in truth this distemper few or no women have been taken ill ; and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reasons I beg you, my entirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, nor to be too uneasy at our

(a) In Essex, purchased, in 1512, of Sir Thomas Boleyn.

“ As touching your abode at Hever, you know what aire doth best suit you; but I would it were come to that thereto, if it please God, that neither of us need care for that; for I assure you I think it long.”

Among other victims of the sweating-sickness was Sir William Carey, the husband of Mary Boleyn, in whose behalf Anne appears to have made a request to Henry, to which he thus replies: — “ With regard to your sister’s matter, I have caused Walter Welche to write to my Lord your father my mind thereon, whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceive

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absence: for wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes, for, whoever will struggle against fate, is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end; wherefore, comfort yourself, and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can, and I hope shortly to make you sing for joy of your recall. No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts.” — See *Harleian Miscellany*.

Adam ; for surely whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honor, but that he must needs take her, his natural daughter, now in her extreme necessity.” \* From the cant of piety in some of the letters written at this period, it is evident that Henry had not entirely overcome his dread of infection ; but although he had himself the good fortune to escape the malady, he was suddenly alarmed for the safety of Anne, who experienced an attack comparatively mild, but which called forth his most tender solicitude.†

\* From this passage it appears, contrary to Sanders, that there was no estrangement between the sisters.

† His feelings are forcibly expressed in the following letter :—

“ There came to me at night the most afflicting news possible : for I have reason to grieve upon three accounts ; first, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured ; secondly, because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence which

Anne soon recovered sufficiently to return to court, where her presence diffused such evident satisfaction, that those who had lately predicted the estrangement of the King's affections, were convinced her empire was more confirmed than ever;

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has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness, and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope, by him and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is, my mistress cured; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left, praying God that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices with relation to your illness; by your doing which I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious stones in the world. Written by the secretary, who is, and always will be,

“ Your loyal,

“ And most assured servant.

“ H. R.”

See Harleian Miscellany.

and Cardinal du Bellai\* confessed, that by nothing short of a miracle was Henry to be cured of his passion. At this crisis distraction appears to have prevailed in Wolsey's councils, who vented his secret chagrin in execrations on the Emperor, and even seriously proposed his deposition in a general council, declaring, that by his sacrilegious treatment of the Pope, he had forfeited his rights to the crown of Cæsar. The discontents of the people, irritated by restrictions on commerce, and the imposition of new taxes, broke forth in murmurs against the divorce, and the minister, to whose fatal influence it was most unjustly attributed. A disposition to insurrection manifested itself in the North; and whilst it was pretended that Lord Rochford was to be created Duke of Somerset, (a title already appropriated to Henry's natural

\* See his Letters in the third vol. of Le Grand's *Histoire du Divorce d'Henri et Catharine*.

son,) a thousand injurious calumnies were circulated by the Catholics against his daughter. Of these murmurs Henry is said to have been apprised by Lord Rochford; who, with consummate prudence, advised him to dismiss Anne from court, and to take some decisive step to appease the clamors of the people.\* Little as Henry could

\* Loyd ascribes the temporary separation of Henry and Anne *exclusively* to the suggestions of Sir Thomas Boleyn; but these were unquestionably enforced by other counsellors. That it should have originated with Anne's father, is, however, perfectly in unison with his wary, cautious, penetrating character. Nothing could have been better devised to defeat the malice of his daughter's enemies, or to inspire confidence in his own upright principles, and disinterested conduct. It is also probable, that he might dread the consequences of Anne's indiscretion or impetuosity. The occasion of her dismissal is stated by Sanders, with his usual disingenuousness and malignity. He pretends that Cardinal Wolsey was the King's adviser, (a very improbable supposition, if we consider the delicate position of Wolsey with Anne Boleyn,) and that Anne, exasperated by this new proof of his power, renewed her vows of eternal vengeance against him.

have relished the proposal, he adopted it with ardor ; and whether his precipitation wounded the pride, or mortified the hopes of Anne Boleyn, she left the court by his express orders, with painful impressions of distrust, not unmingled with resentment.

At this moment no situation could be less enviable : whether she believed that the crisis of her fate approached, or whether she anticipated a repetition of those conflicts and chagrins inseparable from a state of suspense and probation, she had but too much reason to fear the publicity of the King's passion left her no medium between supreme greatness and ignominious degradation. At the commencement of the process for divorce, neither she nor Henry could have looked for the impediments that continued to retard its progress.\*

\* According to Lord Herbert and some other historians, the draft of a bull, was actually found among the state-papers, dated Orvieto, 1527, not only authorizing Henry to contract marriage with any



It had more than once been suggested by Clement, that the celebration of the marriage might precede the dispensation to be hereafter granted: with whatever views this promise was made, it was now but too probable that the Pope meant to evade its performance; and it was obviously his policy, by protracting the cause, to exhaust the King's patience. If Henry persisted, Anne, like another Elizabeth Woodville, might have to witness the alienation of his subjects, and to incur the reproach of having destroyed his peace and prosperity. But was it credible that he should persevere in an object which could only be effected by a formal renun-

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woman (not being his brother's widow,) but even guaranteeing the legality of such marriage, although contracted without a formal dispensation; this bull appears to have been rejected by Gardiner, on some suspicion of informality.

ciation of the Roman see? Not even the obstinacy of his temper assured her he should withstand the test. If he relinquished the pursuit, he would still be a monarch equally great and beloved; whilst the envied Anne Boleyn would have no alternative but to withdraw for ever from that world in which she had only to look for obloquy and contempt. In this constant agitation of her spirits, it was impossible but that by some unguarded expressions she should betray to Henry her doubts of Clement, or her suspicions of Wolsey; and from the tenor of his correspondence, it is evident that something like recrimination occasionally passed between them.\* In

\* "Although, my mistress, you have not been pleased to remember the promise which you made me when I was last with you, which was, that I should hear news of you, and have an answer to my last letter; yet I think it belongs to a true servant (since otherwise he can know nothing) to send to en-

one of his letters the King tells his mistress that he takes pleasure in attending to her reasonable requests.\* To do him justice, however, he appears to have transmitted daily and almost hourly intelligence of Campegio's approach. The following letter is in a strain of unwonted complacency.

*To Anne Boleyn.*

"The approach of the time which I have so long expected rejoices me so

quire of his mistress's health; and for to acquit myself of the office of a true servant, I send you this letter, begging you to give me an account of the state you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in prosperity, as I wish my own."

\* "The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure I also take to know them, causes me to send you now this news. The legate, which we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past; so that I trust, by the next Monday, to hear of his arrival at Calais; and then, I trust, within a while after, to enjoy that which I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts."

much, that it seems almost ready come. However the intire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than any thing in this world; for what joy can be greater upon earth than to have the company of her who is my dearest friend? Knowing likewise that she does the same on her part, the thinking on which gives great pleasure. You may judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has made a greater wound in my heart than either words or writing can express, and which nothing can cure but her return. I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father, from me, that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be in court before the old terms, or at farthest on the day prefixed, for otherwise I shall think he will not do the lover's turn, as he said he would, not answer my expectation. No more at present, for want

of time, hoping shortly that by word of mouth I shall tell you the rest of my sufferings from your absence."

In one billet he is evidently desirous to soothe her impatience; and in the next complains that the contents of his last had transpired; upon which he sapiently observes, "that lack of discreet handling must be the cause thereof."\*

That her return to court was the object of his unceasing solicitude, appears from

\* (*Original*)

"Darling;

"I heartily recommend me to you, ascertaining you that I am a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you will give full credit, for it were too long to write. In my last letters, I writ to you, that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than any that is about me, whereof I not a little marvel, but lack of discreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this time, but that I trust shortly our meeting shall not depend upon other men's light handling, but upon your own. Writ with the hand of him that longs to be yours."

another letter, in which he says, "As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten one by my Lord Cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts, for all causes, as this bearer shall show you." \*

Among other mortifications incident to her situation, Anne could not but be sensible that the lover was also the sovereign. The following letter commences with a very equivocal, if not sarcastic compliment: —

\* This was called Suffolk House, having been formerly occupied by the Duke of Suffolk. On its site was afterwards erected Northumberland House. It has been pretended by Sanders, that this mansion was a peace-offering to Anne Boleyn from Henry; from the correspondence, however, nothing transpires to verify this assertion: even if, as Lord Herbert states, she kept the King at a distance on her return to court, she showed, in this, not only pride but prudence, and may be supposed to have followed her father's counsels. It should be observed that there was another Suffolk House in Southwark, which was also occupied by Charles Brandon.

“To inform you what joy it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reason, and of the suppressing of your *inutile* and *vain* thoughts and *fantasies* with the *bridle* of *reason*, I assure you all the goodness of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction in the knowledge and certainty thereof; therefore, good sweetheart, continue the same, not only in this but in all your doings hereafter; for thereby shall come, both to you and me, the greatest quietness that may be in this world.” After this he resumes the subject of her future residence, in the style of one who is conscious that he has conferred an especial favor, obviously with a determination to vindicate the honor of Campegio.\*

\* “The cause why this bearer stays so long is the geer I have had to dress up for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupy, and then I trust to occupy yours, which shall be recompence enough to me for

The general character of this cardinal was such as justified the eulogium. Like many of the more respectable prelates in that age, he had married in his youth, on his wife's death taken orders, and gradually risen to distinction by sound learning and strict attachment to Catholic principles. To the English court he was no stranger, having ten years before been associated with Wolsey in visiting and dissolving those monasteries, on whose ruin was erected Cardinal College. In his cold reserved

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all my pains and labour. The unfeigned sickness of this well-willing legate doth somewhat retard this access to your person, but I trust, verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompence his demur; for I know well where he hath said, (fomenting the saying and bruit noise,) that he shall be thought imperial, that it shall be well known in this matter that he is not imperial: and this for lack of time. Farewell."

*Imperial* was the term applied to the partisans of Charles the Fifth, and his aunt Catharine.



manners he was strikingly contrasted with his colleague, in whose taste for splendor he so little participated, that he shunned occasions of pomp and exhibition, preferring to all other privileges the indulgence of ease and privacy. Without one brilliant talent, he had acquired a high reputation, founded on gravity and discretion, and an inflexible observance of ecclesiastical formalities, however tedious or unimportant. At his first public interview with the King, he dilated, in a Latin oration, on the injuries which the Pope and his subjects had sustained from the Imperial party. To this subject Henry was prepared to listen with respectful commiseration; but when, at their private conference, the Legate, *pro formâ*, exhorted him to drop the suit which he had come to England expressly to commence, the Monarch's patience began to flag; and nothing but the persuasion that Campeggio was actually in possession of the decretal bull so long soli-

cited, and that it was in due time to be produced, could have reconciled him to a mockery at once so palpable and tantalizing. Campegio's next visit was to Catharine, whom he advised with equal earnestness and, perhaps, more sincerity, to embrace a religious life; but even the self-denying Queen rejected the proposal in a manner that showed how little she relished his interference; protesting that she was Henry's lawful wife, and, consequently, had no right to withdraw from her husband's protection.

Having paid the proper tribute to decorum, the punctilious Legate, in conjunction with Wolsey, entered upon an elaborate investigation of the evidence in favor of the divorce; but his diligence was checked by frequent returns of indisposition, and by the rumor of the Pope's death. At this intelligence the Cardinal's hopes revived, and in an extacy of enthusiasm, he sent to Gardiner to secure his election to the

papacy; and as both Francis and \* Henry had cogent motives for seconding his pretension, letters were written, messengers dispatched, largesses promised and antici-

\* That Henry had participated in Wolsey's hopes, is evident, from the following letter addressed to Anne Boleyn, in which he refers to the mission of Fox to Gardiner, to secure the Cardinal's election:—

“ Darling;

“ This shall be only to advertize you, that this bearer, and his fellow, be dispatched with as many things to compass matters, and to bring it to pass, as our wits could manage or devise; which brought to pass, as I trust by their diligence it shall be shortly, you and I shall have our desired end; which shall be more to my heart's ease, and more quietness to my mind, than any other thing in this world, as by God's grace stedfastly I trust shall be proved, but not so soon as I would it were; yet I will assure you there shall be no time lost that may be won, and further cannot be done, for *ultra posse non est esse*. Keep him not too long with you, but desire him, for your sake, to make the more speed; for the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to pass; and thus, upon trust to your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter; mine own sweetheart. Written with the hand of him that desires as much to be yours.”

pated ; when, alas ! it was discovered, that the Pope had revived, and Wolsey saw his sun of glory sink for ever !

At length, Campegio having exhausted every possible pretext for delay, the consistorial court was opened \*, when, says Godwin, “such a scene was exhibited as had never before been presented to the astonished world. A puissant monarch cited by the voice of an apparitor, made his appearance before the judges.” It would be unnecessary to revert to this scene, which Shakspeare has rendered familiar to every English reader, but that it has been described by an eye witness, with a felicity and spirit almost unequalled in any prose narration. †

“ There were many tables and benches set in manner of a consistory, one seat being higher than another for the judges aloft ;

\* In the palace of Bridewell.

† Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

above them, three degrees high, was a cloth of estate hanged, and a chair royal under the same, wherein sat the King, and some distance off sat the Queen, and at the judges' feet sat the scribes and officers for the execution of the process. The chief scribe was Dr. Stevens\*, after Bishop of Winchester; and the apparitor, who was called Doctor of the Court, was one Cooke, of Westminster. Then, before the King and the judges, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Warham, and all other bishops; there stood, at both ends within, counsellors learned in the spiritual laws, as well on the King's side, as the Queen's side,—Dr. Sampson, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Hall, after Bishop of Worcester, with divers others; and proctors in the same law were Dr. Peter, who was afterwards chief secretary, and Dr. Tregunwell, with divers others.

\* Gardiner.

“ Now, on the other side, there were council for the Queen, Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, in Wales, two brave noble divines; especially the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man; whose death many noblemen and many worthy divines much lamented, who lost his head about this cause, before it was ended, upon Tower Hill: as also another ancient doctor, called Dr. Ridley, a little man, but a great divine. The court being thus ordered, as is before expressed, the judges commanded the cryer to proclaim silence, whilst the commission was both read to the court and to the people there assembled: that done, and silence being again proclaimed, the scribes commanded the cryer to call King Henry of England; whereunto the King answered, and said, ‘ Here :’ then called he again the Queen of England, by the name of ‘ Catherine Queen of England, come into the court,’ &c. who made no answer there-

unto, but rose immediately out of her chair where she sat; and, because she could not come to the King directly, by reason of the distance, therefore she came round about the court to the King, and kneeled down at his feet, saying these words in broken English, as followeth :

“ ‘ Sir,’ quoth she, ‘ I beseech you do me justice and right, and take some pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions, having here no indifferent council, and less assurance of friendship. Alas! Sir, how have I offended you? What offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of life in this sort? I take God to witness, I have been to you a true and loyal wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure; never did I contrary or gainsay your mind, but always submitted myself in all things, wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were little or much, without grudging or any sign of discontent. I have

loved for your sake all men whom you have loved, whether I had cause or not, were they friends or foes. I have been your wife this twenty years. If there be any cause that you can alledge, either of dishonesty, or of any other matter, lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with shame and rebuke; but if there be none, then I pray you to let me have justice at your hands.

“ ‘ The King, your father, was a man of such an excellent wit in his time, that he was recounted a second Solomon; and the King of Spain, my father, Ferdinand, was taken for one of the wisest Kings that reigned in Spain these many years. So they were both wise men and noble princes; and it is no question but they had wise counsellors of either realm, as be now at this day, who thought not, at the marriage of you and me, to hear what new devices are now invented against me, to cause me to stand to the order of this



court. And I conceive you do me much wrong, nay you condemn me for not answering, having no council but such as you have assigned me : you must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my part, being your own subjects, and such as you have made choice of out of your own council, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your pleasure.

“ ‘ Therefore, I most humbly beseech you to spare me, until I know how my friends in Spain will advise me ; but if you will not, then let your pleasure be done.’

“ And with that she rose, making a curtesy to the King, and departed from thence, all the people thinking she would have returned again to her former seat ; but she went presently out of the court, leaning upon the arm of one of her servants, who was her general receiver, one Mr. Griffith.

“ The King, seeing that she was ready to go out of the court, commanded the cryer to call her again by these words, — ‘ Catharine, Queen of England, come into court.’ ‘ Lo,’ quoth Mr. Griffith, ‘ you are called again.’ ‘ Go on,’ quoth she, ‘ it is no matter : it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry ; go on your way :’ and so she departed, without any further answer at that time, or any appearance in any other court.”

## CHAPTER VII.

WOLSEY'S DISGRACE.—RISE OF THE REFORMERS.  
—MEETING BETWEEN FRANCIS AND HENRY AT  
PARIS AND BOULOGNE.—CORONATION OF ANNE  
BOLEYN.

**D**URING Cardinal Campegio's residence in England, the fluctuations of Henry's mind were indicated by the perpetual inconsistency and vacillation of his conduct. It has been already related that, previous to the Legate's arrival, Anne was dismissed from court; and, to give more efficacy to the sacrifice of his inclinations, Henry convened to his palace at Bridewell an assembly of bishops, peers, lawyers, and commoners, to whom he detailed the rise and progress of his pious fears; solemnly declaring, that, could his conscience be quieted, his

affections would again elect his present Queen, in preference to the fairest and worthiest of her sex. Whatever credit might have been given to these professions was destroyed by the impatience with which, in three months, he not only recalled Anne to London, but established her in Suffolk House, where, surrounded by her nearest relatives, she was assiduously visited by his ministers and courtiers as their future queen.

To the irritable state of Henry's feelings, might, perhaps, in part, be attributed the promulgation of several additional edicts to the statutes of Eltham \*, in which he requires

\* "That officers of the privy chamber shall be loving together, keeping secret every thing said or done; leaving hearkning or enquiring where the King is or goes, be it early or late; without grudging, mumbling, or talking of the King's pastime, late or early going to bed, or any other matter.

"That the six gentlemen of the privy chamber shall have a vigilant and reverend eye and respect to his Grace; so that, by his look or countenance, they

from his servants not merely unconditional submission, but *mute* and *blind* devotion to his royal pleasure. \* That some suspicion was mingled with this irritation, may be gathered from another proclamation, by which all members of the Lower House are enjoined to repair to their respective counties, on pain of his heavy displeasure. There were two causes for the King's perplexity; he was estranged from his old confidants, and distrustful of his new advisers, — the enemies of Wolsey and the abettors of the Reformation. Unwilling to

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may know what he lacketh, or what is his pleasure to be had or done."

It was also enacted, "that all such nobles as repaired to the parliament, were immediately to depart into their several counties, on pain of his high displeasure, and to be further punished as to him or his Highness's council shall be thought convenient."

\* It is remarkable, that two of the gentlemen permitted to enter the King's chamber at all hours, were Weston and Norris, both of whom were afterwards beheaded.

secede from the church of Rome, he persisted in believing that the Legate was authorised to pronounce the definitive sentence of divorce; but even this conviction did not always controul the displeasure with which he witnessed his tantalizing habit of procrastination.

During some weeks the Consistorial Court continued to exhibit a disgusting mockery of justice. The proceedings were in Latin; and, to the vulgar, nothing transpired, but the officious testimonies of venal bishops and obsequious nobles in vindication of the monarch's conscience. After the first spontaneous ebullitions of sympathy for Catharine, public opinion began to incline in favor of the King, who rested his claim on the popular argument, that the Pope could not dispense with the laws of God: whilst the Queen, instead of appealing to the principles of humanity and justice, committed her cause to the indefeasible authority of the church, — a

doctrine that, in England, was every day becoming less acceptable. At a second, and a third meeting, the Queen answered not; Henry therefore, after having, to use the words of Cavendish, "chafed Wolsey," imperiously dismissed him with an injunction to require from Catharine an immediate compliance with his will.

The two cardinals repaired to the palace at Bridewell, where they surprised Catharine with a skein of silk round her neck, working with her maids. On announcing their mission, she at first declined a private conference, and finally granted it only to announce a firm and immoveable determination to abide by the decision of the court of Rome. Baffled in his hopes of a compromise, Henry importuned Campegio for the decretal bull which had been entrusted to his care. He knew not how successfully the imperial influence had been exerted to cancel this document, nor suspected that Campegio's son, Campana,

lately arrived in England, had been purposely sent from Rome to ensure its destruction.

At length the day arrived when Campegio was to pronounce the definitive sentence. Contrary to Anne Boleyn's fears and predictions, Henry insisted he should obtain a favourable verdict, and such was his impatience to realise the anticipation, that he privately stole to an apartment adjoining the hall, where he could remain an unobserved spectator of the proceedings. The King's case being closed, his counsel demanded judgment. An anxious pause ensued; whilst Campegio, who had hitherto listened in profound silence, slowly rising from his chair, deliberately pronounced the following oration: —

“ I have with care and diligence examined whatever has been alleged in the King's behalf; and, indeed, the arguments are such, that I might not scruple to pronounce for the King, if two reasons did



not controul and curb my desires to do His Majesty right. The Queen withdraws herself from the judgment of the court, having before excepted against its supposed partiality, inasmuch as, she says, nothing can be determined without the consent of the Pontiff. Moreover, His Holiness, who is the fountain and life of honor, hath by a special messenger, given us to understand, that he hath reserved this cause for his own hearing ; so that, if we were never so fair to proceed farther, peradventure we cannot — I am sure we may not ; wherefore I do here dissolve the court : and I beseech those whom this cause concerns to take in good part what I have done. I am a feeble old man, and see death so near me, that, in a matter of so great consequence, neither hope nor fear, nor any other respect but that of the Supreme Judge, before whom I am so soon to appear, shall sway me.” \*

\* Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth.

It is easy to imagine with what rage the King listened to this evasive sentence. The assembly remained in mute consternation, till the Duke of Suffolk, conscious of the King's invisible presence, starting from his seat, exclaimed with vehemence, "It was never well with England since these Cardinals sat amongst us!" Incensed at this insolence, Wolsey retorted with acrimony: the utmost confusion prevailed; when Campegio, who alone preserved perfect composure, descending from his throne, the audience dispersed to form their own conjectures respecting the next steps to be taken to gratify the wishes of their offended sovereign.

The first and immediate effect of Campegio's verdict, was augmented rigour towards Catharine; against whom the Privy Council fulminated an edict, recommending to the King "to absent himself from her company, under pretence of her having lately assumed cheerfulness, not regarding

the King's melancholy and discontent, which perverseness plainly shewed she was the King's enemy, and likely to conspire against his royal life. They therefore presumed, as good and faithful subjects, to admonish him for his own sake to withdraw from her society, and to remove the Princess, their daughter, from her evil example."\*

Henry had long been arbitrary ; he now became cruel and implacable. At his instigation, Wolsey placed spies among the Queen's household, who watched her movements, and reported her most simple speeches and inoffensive actions ; but the uprightness and caution of her character repelled treachery ; and during her complicated trials nothing escaped her lips from which the most ingenious casuistry could extract an accusation of disobedience or sedition.

The next consequence of the verdict was Wolsey's disgrace. Fortunately for Anne

\* Collier. Burnet.

Boleyn, her sagacious father had long since discovered to what point Campegio's procrastination was tending ; and, as he foresaw that the imperial agents must ultimately succeed in preventing a papal dispensation, he concerted a plan, by which the King should be provoked to defy the sovereign Pontiff, and to legitimate his marriage by an independent authority. The first step in this enterprise was to remove Wolsey from his counsels, an effort in which he was zealously seconded by the Cardinal's enemies, and by his own agents and auxiliaries in France and Italy. He had passively allowed Henry to exhale, in rage, all the bitterness of his disappointment, till Sir William Kingston and Lord Manners (afterwards Earl of Rutland) produced an intercepted letter\*, which rendered it apparent that the Car-

\* Burnet asserts, that the intercepted letter was procured, by the agency of Sir Francis Brian, at Rome,

dinal had encouraged the Pope to protract the suit, and to withhold or suspend the divorce. This information, however obtained, Sir Thomas Boleyn was enabled to confirm by other testimony; and whether these documents were forged or genuine, the wished-for impulse was given to the offended sovereign, and the favorite's fall decreed: the execution of the sentence was, however, suspended, partly from Henry's systematic duplicity, and partly from that native obstinacy, which rendered him as loth to retract an opinion, as to relinquish a pursuit. It is even probable,

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and that Lord Rochford subjoined to it a declaration of his own sentiments; but this appears to have been a mistake; Sir Francis Brian not being in Rome at that time. The testimony of Sir William Kingston was derived from some other source. That Henry had given credence to these proofs of his minister's infidelity, appears, even from Cavendish, who describes the King, at their last interview at Grafton, as putting to him some questions respecting letters, which the Cardinal negatived.

that the minister might still have averted his ruin, by consenting to take upon himself the sole responsibility of the divorce ; but the propitious moment was neglected, and he afterwards looked in vain for the returning smiles of fortune.

The most important circumstance that resulted from Campegio's subterfuge, was the accession of strength that it brought to the reforming party ; with whom the King himself was compelled to coalesce, to raise a barrier to the Pope's unlimited supremacy. From that memorable day, when the Legate had delivered his opinion, the tide of national sympathy flowed in unison with Henry's feelings. From pride and patriotism, the nobility resented the transference of the cause to Rome ; the citizens murmured at the intrusion of a foreign judicature ; the provincial gentry echoed the opinions of the nobility ; the peers, with the exception of the bishops, were ready to concur with the Commons, in the

exposition and abolition of those abuses of ecclesiastical power, which had long oppressed both the higher and lower orders of the community. By a new and rapid revolution of sentiment, the court sanctioned and even patronised the doctrine of antipapal resistance, lately confined almost exclusively to the small, despised, persecuted sect of Lollards or Lutherans, to whom the most precious of all earthly possessions was the Bible, which was neither to be obtained nor preserved, but with the utmost peril, and which had been consecrated by the tears and even the life-blood of its martyred disciples. It was not a little singular to trace any correspondence of language or sentiment in the favourites of Henry the Eighth, with those primitive single-minded people, whose kingdom was not of this world, and who placed all their happiness and glory in worshipping God according to the dictates of reason and conscience. On the dissolution of the

Consistorial Court, however, some of those heretical truths, which were connected with secular interests, obtained many noble champions and defenders, and whilst Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, deprecated the interference of popes and cardinals, the Duke of Norfolk, though bigoted in his attachment to the Romish hierarchy, eagerly co-operated in destroying Wolsey, by whom alone its interests could be supported; Lord Rochford and his daughter insensibly softened the King's antipathy to the *new learning*, by which appellation was stigmatised every doctrine opposed to the old superstitions; the younger cavaliers assailed with ridicule the monks and the monasteries; and Wiatt is said to have dissipated Henry's most inveterate prejudice against heresy, by humorously exclaiming, " Good Lord! to think that a man must not repent of his sins, without the Pope's leave." The pleasantry was relished; for the King laughed, and, two or three days after, when the same idea was



suggested in Cranmer's well-known proposition of procuring subscriptions from the most celebrated universities in Europe, it obtained the most cordial and unequivocal approbation. Cranmer was summoned to court—at the first glance engaged Henry's partiality; and having composed an essay in defence of the divorce, was sent to advocate the cause in Italy and Germany.

Exhilarated by new hopes of success, the King commenced a progress to Woodstock, attended by Catharine\*, and accompanied by Anne Boleyn. With whatever repugnance the unhappy Queen submitted to the intrusion of her rival, she too well knew, that to her presence, however unwelcome, she was indebted for even the little complacency with which she continued to be treated by her discontented husband: nor was this envied rival less alive to the mortification of resuming that subordinate station which she had hoped to quit for

\* Hall.

ever; but she was sensible that the exigencies of the moment required the sacrifice of pride and temper, and that her agency was indispensable to counteract those arts by which the Cardinal sought to regain his master's favor. To achieve this minister's disgrace was equally the object of the catholic Duke of Norfolk, and the half-Lutheran Duke of Suffolk: with this view, the anti-papal, and anti-imperial parties had coalesced, and rallied round Anne for patronage and protection. Even the zeal with which she attached herself to the former obtained indulgence from its opponents, who, in cherishing the declared enemy of Wolsey, forgave, or overlooked, the advocate of the Reformation. It may be remarked, that, of all who armed against Wolsey, Anne Boleyn alone had the stronger motive of self-defence to impel her to seek his ruin: from others he might intercept favor or preferment, but to her he had been interposed as a fatal and in-

superable barrier to greatness and felicity ; nor could she shut her eyes to the conviction, that, by his perfidious promises of friendship, she had been placed in a situation the most tantalizing and precarious. With sentiments such as these, what was her mortification, to be apprised, that Cardinal Campegio was approaching Grafton, (to bid the King farewell,) accompanied by Wolsey, who obviously still hoped to regain the confidence of his offended sovereign ! Anne's first impression was alarm ; but it subsided to contempt, when the courtiers, already exulting in his downfall, insisted that he would be excluded from the royal presence.

On his arrival, it was evident that no preparation had been made for his reception ; and whilst Campegio was ushered into a stately chamber, his colleague was indebted to the spontaneous kindness of Sir Henry Norris for even a temporary accommodation. Accustomed to exist in

the artificial atmosphere of pride and flattery, Wolsey hardly knew how to believe he owed so much to an individual, whom he had hitherto considered as perfectly insignificant; but collecting all his firmness, he proceeded with his accustomed self-possession to the presence-chamber. At his entrance, the courtiers smiled, anticipating with malignant joy his confusion and disgrace. Some had betted that the King would not even address him; others whispered an ominous interpretation of his supposed silence. Great, therefore, was their surprise, when they perceived that Henry welcomed both Cardinals with equal cordiality; and yet greater was their dismay, when, taking Wolsey's hand, he led him into a recess beneath a window, where, aloof from all the circle, they stood side by side, in low but earnest conversation. Finally both legates were dismissed with courtesy, but Henry commanded Wolsey to meet him again in the evening. When

the Cardinal withdrew, a sudden change of aspect was perceived in the astonished courtiers; and they mechanically resumed the attentions commonly offered to the omnipotent favorite, who retraced his steps in triumph. The Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk were the first to bear to Anne Boleyn the unwelcome tidings. Naturally high-spirited and ingenuous, she could ill disguise her vexation at Henry's conduct, which, to her quick apprehension, argued nothing less than the total dereliction of his late engagements. The King, who, in his progresses, indulged himself with the liberty of choosing his own party, that day dined in her apartment\*, where, even at table, she so little controuled her feelings, that, even in the presence of the waiters, she audaciously arraigned the Cardinal's maladministration, reprobated the heavy loans he

\* In general Henry dined with his Queen; but during a progress they might occasionally be separated.

had contracted in the Sovereign's name, to the prejudice of the subject ;—“ Had my father, or uncle, or the Duke of Suffolk, adventured but half as much, he would have lost his head.” Amused, if not flattered, by this inquietude, Henry suffered her to proceed, with no other comment, than that he perceived she was not the Cardinal's friend; to which she rejoined, “ I have no cause, or any that love you ; no more hath your Grace, if you did but well consider his indirect, and unlawful doings.” Not even the flattering insinuation conveyed in these words prevented Henry from admitting Wolsey to an evening conference of two hours, during which Anne endured, by anticipation, all the torments of disappointed ambition. She dreaded the renewal of Henry's scruples to those measures, which he had with difficulty been induced to adopt. She remembered, with terror, his former vacillation and inconsistency, and believed her cause lost for ever, if Wolsey

were restored to his confidence. The anti-ministerial party gathered round her, and the interval was spent in anxious deliberation. At length the Cardinal departed by torch-light ; but not before another appointment had been made for the next morning. At this news Anne lost hope and patience : she seemed not to have known, or not to have remembered, that Henry smiled on those whom he predestined to destruction ; nor did she calculate what powerful reasons might induce him to dissemble, when prudence suggested the propriety of concealing the alteration in his sentiments from Campegio, who was about to return to Rome, where he still flattered himself he might obtain a favorable judgment. It is also probable, that he wished to ascertain how far the Cardinal had really been accessory to his late disappointment. That he accused him of clandestine correspondence with the Pope, is acknowledged even by Cavendish,

who heard his master in general terms disclaim the charge. The King, at the moment, might seem satisfied; but, in him, suspicion was not easily allayed: and although he dismissed the minister with kindness, evidently never meant to renew their friendship. In the morning, when Wolsey returned, at the hour appointed, the King, recollecting an engagement with Anne, parted from him with courtesy too studied to deceive a practised courtier. Offended at this new instance of duplicity, Anne betrayed, by her countenance, that indignation she ventured not to express, and darting on Wolsey a glance of mingled anger and disdain, passed on, without vouchsafing the least obeisance.

After the Cardinal's departure, no one remained, to undermine or counteract the influence of Anne Boleyn. In walking and riding, she was the King's chosen companion, the depositary of all his cares and vexations, the inventress of his amuse-



ments, the dispenser of his pleasures. In obtaining and preserving this empire, Anne discovered powers of understanding, far different from those superficial though seducing accomplishments, with which she had first captivated his affections. Of her strength of character, she is said, during this progress, to have given a convincing proof, by persuading Henry to visit a spot in Woodstock Forest, which had the reputation of being haunted, and of which there was a prediction extant, that the king who approached it would not survive. Although Henry was naturally superstitious, she had the eloquence and address to induce him to confront the chimerical danger, and enjoyed the triumph he had obtained over his fantastic terrors. \* It might have been apprehended that the King would scarcely tolerate any superiority in a woman ; but, at this time, he had not entirely lost the

\* Fox.

sensibilities of youth ; his early prepossessions had been favorable to the female character : to his grandmother, the celebrated Countess of Derby, he had been accustomed to yield implicit deference ; the example of his mother, and his wife, had taught him to require a high standard of female virtue ; nor were there wanting, among the distinguished women of that age, individuals who might sanction the pretensions of their sex to intellectual equality. But neither in Margaret of Savoy, nor Margaret of Navarre, had the union of sense and softness, of gaiety and reserve, been so attractively blended as in Anne Boleyn. Among all her superior attractions, however, there was perhaps none so well calculated to confirm the King's attachment, as that she was strikingly contrasted with the superstitious Catharine ; nor is it impossible, but that he was the more readily induced to make the effort to overcome any weakness in which she participated.

Within a month after his final interview with the King at Grafton, the Cardinal was deprived of the Great Seal, and stripped of his treasures; to escape imprisonment, he confessed himself guilty of *premunire*\*, and surrender to the King all his possessions. Appeased by submission, Henry condescended, from time to time, to send him assurances of friendship; but evinced the insincerity of these professions, by allowing the Commons to exhibit against him articles of impeachment, which were, however, repelled and refuted by his secretary, Cromwel. The Cardinal met not calamity with manly firmness: ever vacillating between the love of power and of fame, he professed a desire to leave the world, assumed a hermit's garb, entered the monastery of Shene, and accidentally

\* By virtue of the statute of Richard the Second, against the supremacy of ecclesiastical over civil courts. The King had, however, himself sanctioned Wolsey's acceptance of the legatine authority.

lodged in the room formerly occupied by Dean Colet, that virtuous and disinterested advocate for knowledge and truth, whose supreme ambition was, not to dazzle, but improve and bless mankind. Whether Wolsey was here visited by compunctious recollections of his former abuse of power and prosperity, or whether the nobler energies of his nature resumed their ascendancy, he became seriously anxious to perpetuate some claims to the gratitude of posterity, and earnestly implored the King to spare, at least, the colleges of Ipswich, and Oxford, which, under his auspices, had been erected; but to this petition, was annexed another, more consonant with mundane vanity, "that he would be pleased to allow the superb monument, constructed for him by the famous Benedetto \*, to be his future

\* Benedetto, a statuary at Florence, was employed by Wolsey to construct his monument, to which Antony Cavelleri was to furnish the gilding; which, though unfinished, had already cost 4250 ducats. This monument was seized by Henry, but never completed.

tomb," to which he was, he said, "from the heaviness of his soul, fast descending." That he was not sincere in his renunciation of the world, may with reason be inferred, from his abject supplications to Anne Boleyn, through the medium of Cromwel; to whom, according to Cavendish, she gave gentle words although she resolutely and wisely refused a mediation, by which she must have compromised the interests of the reforming party.

It may be doubted whether even her intercession would have availed, after Henry had once gratified his rapacity with the spoils of his former favourite, who was however at length pardoned and dismissed to his archiepiscopal see of York, and the *comparative* poverty of four thousand per annum.

Thus fell the first, perhaps the only despotic minister of Henry the Eighth. His character has been often portrayed ;

but one of its most remarkable features, that overweening respect for the Church, which disposed him to hold all other objects and duties subordinate to its dignity, appears to have been generally overlooked or forgotten. Paradoxical as it may seem, the austere Becket was not more zealous to vindicate the prerogative and exalt the honors of ecclesiastical supremacy, than the gay, voluptuous, and insinuating Wolsey. It was the master-passion of his soul to restore to its former omnipotence that papal throne, of which he always hoped to obtain the sovereignty. Even his love of learning, in other respects the emanation of a munificent spirit, was modified by this sentiment. In founding colleges, he sought but to raise ornaments for the pulpit. To the laity he left the comforts of ignorance; and, resisting every effort to enlighten the people, watched over political and theological publications with a

jealousy not unworthy of the holy office \*, and directed against such as were either suspected or detected of heretical pravity, a rigorous prosecution. It escaped not Wolsey's penetration, that it was from the same ray of light that emanated civil and religious liberty; and his abhorrence of Lutheranism flowed perhaps from the impression, that the rights of conscience were inseparable from the common rights of humanity: yet his political sagacity failed to discover, that the persecution, by which the heretic was devoted to the flames, threw a sacred halo over those doctrines he would have impugned, and consecrated to pity, that sect which he abhorred.

On the ruins of Wolsey's colossal greatness arose four ministers of various talents

\* This vigilance was more particularly directed against political strictures. In 1527, he took cognizance of a Christmas interlude, performed at Gray's Inn, of which the argument was, that *Lord Governance* was ruled by *Lady Dissipation* and *Lady Negligence*,

and pretensions. The first was Gardiner, his former dependant and confidant ; who had originally pursued the law, but afterwards entered the Church, for which he showed attachment when he became Bishop of Winchester. Born with that penetration which almost assumes the character of prescience, it was his privilege, that, whilst he unravelled and explained all other minds, he remained himself inscrutable to observation. His duplicity was, however, not always criminal, since he ceased not to serve Wolsey with fidelity, when he entered into a clandestine correspondence with Anne Boleyn. Prompt and decided, with no scruples of conscience, no emotions of humanity, he was formed to execute the will of his imperious sovereign. An

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by whose misrule *Lady Public Weale* was put from *Governance*, which caused *Rumor Populi* to rise *vi et armis*, to expel *Negligence*, and restore *Public Weale* to her castle. The compiler of this piece, which was greatly applauded, was committed to the Fleet.



ingenious sophist, whatever was the subject of discussion, his argument flowed with facility ; and it is notorious that he wrote, almost at the same time, to support the Pope's supremacy and the King's independence. He detested the Reformation, yet promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn ; and artfully adapted his principles, or rather his prejudices, to the exigencies of the moment.

Next to Gardiner, and infinitely superior to him in energy and vigour, was Cromwel, the secretary of Wolsey, who, by undertaking his master's defence in Parliament, ushered forward his own talents, and excited a general prepossession in his favor. Nature had formed this man for great emergencies. Of mean birth \* and

\* Cromwel was the son of a blacksmith : for his diligence in suppressing monasteries, he was created Baron Cromwel ; for his exertions in making the match between Henry and the Lady Anne of Cleves, he was first raised to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and then beheaded.

vulgar education, he joined the army in Flanders as a volunteer, and by his bravery and indigence attracted the notice of a humane merchant named Frescobald, who recommended him to Wolsey's service ; and to whom he afterwards well repaid the debt of gratitude. Quickness and diligence supplied in him the deficiencies of early education ; society polished his mind and manners ; and he became, if not a classical, an eloquent English orator. Cromwel was no churchman, nor did he imbibe Wolsey's predilections for Roman supremacy ; yet his attachment to the Reformation evidently flowed from political calculations. After Wolsey's banishment, he had frequent access to Henry, to whom he boldly demonstrated the advantages to be derived from an abolition of the Pope's power, and the suppression of certain ecclesiastical privileges. Henry relished the suggestion, and under the title of Vicar-general, (derived from the Pope,) Cromwel was eventually

to subvert the Pope's Anglican jurisdiction.

In the dignified office of Chancellor, or, as it was then designated, Lord Keeper, Wolsey was succeeded by Sir Thomas More, a man well born and liberally educated, imbued with the spirit of classical literature, celebrated for his wit and learning, and exemplary in all the domestic relations of life. He had applied to the study of law with success, and was justly revered for his professional integrity, and domestic virtues; but these admirable qualities were tarnished by bigotry, not more repugnant to his native dispositions than unworthy of his understanding. Alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, he was weak enough to imagine that the exercise of reason was to be suspended by the sword and the flame; that the ever-active and progressive principle of the human mind was to be arrested by decrees and statutes, and persecutions alike repugnant to sound

policy and genuine piety. It is a melancholy reflection, that More's sanguinary administration almost obliterated the memory of Wolsey's rigours, and that the stigma of cruelty and pusillanimity is thus affixed to a name, which must otherwise have commanded the veneration and inspired the gratitude of posterity.\*

Of a different complexion was Cranmer; a priest, unfitted for his profession by his social instincts, his lively sympathies, and large capacities for tenderness and benevolence. In early youth he had sacrificed ambition to love, by marrying the object of his choice, who survived not long this proof of devoted attachment: on her death,

\* In Strype, Fox, and Collier, will be found various examples of Sir Thomas More's severity. For the spirit with which he regarded heresy, we have his own authority, in the following passage: — "That which I professe in my epitaph, is, that I have been troublesome to heretics. I have done it with a little ambition, for I so hate them, these kind of men, that I would be their sorest enemy that I could, if they will not

believing himself for ever weaned from domestic affections, he re-entered the church and after due probation pronounced the irrevocable vows. From learning and eloquence he obtained but barren praise, till having accepted the situation of tutor in Mr. Cressey's family, by the fortunate intervention of Fox and Gardiner, he was introduced to the notice of Henry, by whom he was retained, to advocate the divorce, and defend the cause at Rome, and in Germany. The life of Cranmer was not without romantic incidents : during his residence on the Continent, he discovered that he still possessed a heart susceptible of tender impressions. Associated under the same roof with the amiable

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repent; for I find them such men, and so to increase every day, that I even greatly fear the world will be undone by them," *Dialogues on Heretics*. — With such sentiments it was impossible but that More should be the inveterate enemy of Anne Boleyn.

niece of Osiander\*, he once more questioned the right of the church to divorce its ministers from the best and dearest charities of life. In Germany the most eminent divines had abjured the monkish vows of celibacy; and Cranmer, finding nothing in Scripture to enforce the obligation, was privately united to the object of his affections, little foreseeing he should hereafter renounce the name of husband to accept the primacy of England. †

There is something in the character of Cranmer that disappoints expectation, and leads us to suspect his naturally noble and ingenuous mind had been enervated by premature prosperity. On great occasions

\* A celebrated Lutheran divine.

† By this lady, who privately followed him to England, he had several children: she lived with him many years as his known though not acknowledged wife, till the promulgation of the six articles by Henry compelled him to send her back to Germany, where she continued, till the accession of Edward the Sixth.

he evinced both fortitude and magnanimity ; but to the minor trials and temptations of life, he brought not the firmness and intrepidity displayed by some prelatical contemporaries. It may, however, be observed, if he knew not to suffer like Fisher, nor to resist with Latimer, he possessed higher capacities of understanding than these ascetic devotees, and that he was perhaps too enlightened, and even too benevolent to participate in that fanatical or bigoted zeal, sometimes associated with sublime heroism, and magnanimous integrity. For humanity, and the gentler virtues of civilised society, Cranmer was eminently conspicuous, and of all the early English reformers, appears most to have been misplaced in the court of Henry the Eighth, and the age of Charles the Fifth. Of the low state of morals in Europe, at this period, the mission to the universities affords decisive proof, since in France, and even in Italy, where the new doctrines

had been strenuously opposed, and the Pope's infallibility was upheld as the palladium of Christianity, subscriptions were easily purchased for the King's cause. Henry's gold prevailed more than Gardiner's eloquence; and not only from the University of Toulouse, but from those of Padua and Bologna, a declaration was obtained the most derogatory to their professed principles.\*

Subscriptions were not procured with the same facility in Germany, where, according to the maxims of worldly policy, no opposition could have been anticipated from the Lutherans, who had cogent motives for seeking to conciliate one of the most

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\* It is in vain, that Burnet attempts to persuade himself and his readers, that Henry's cause was not supported by bribery: the records of Strype and Collier attest the fact; and it appears from the correspondence of Cardinal du Bellai, that the decisions of the French universities were influenced not only by gold, but the authority of their monarch.



powerful princes in Europe.\* Yet neither bribery nor persuasion could extort from them subscriptions or declarations, which they internally condemned as repugnant

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\* Of this marked difference between the Catholics and the Lutherans, the learned Croke furnishes a curious illustration in the following letter, dated Venice: —

“ My fidelity bindeth me to advertize your Highness, that all Lutherans be utterly against your cause, and have letted as much with their wretched power, malice without reason or authority, as they could, and might, as well here as in Padua and Germany. I doubt not but all Christian universities, if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highness. As from the seignory and dominion of Venice, towards Rome, and beyond Rome, I think there can be no more done than is done already. Albeit, I have besides this seal procured unto your Highness an hundred and ten subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in comparison of that I might easily have done. At this hour, I assure you, I have neither provision nor money, and have borrowed an hundred crowns, the which also are spent.” — He concludes by imploring him not to suffer the cause to be lost for want of pecuniary supplies.

to the principles of equity and justice. Even Luther, although he censured Henry's marriage with Catharine, reprobated the divorce. Other eminent divines contended for the preservation of the Queen's rights, and those of her offspring. Such was the moral feeling inspired by the pursuit of truth ; such the integrity of men, who had learned to exercise reason, uncontrouled by authority, in defiance of persecution !

In England it was not without management that the two universities were rendered subservient to the royal will. Alarmed by the disaffection lately manifested to their body by the King and parliament, the English clergy clung to the ark of Rome, with the vain hope of protecting abuses which the superstition of former ages had consecrated, but which were now execrated and abhorred. These terrors were not unfounded. At the instigation of Cromwel, six bills were introduced into the Commons,

directly levelled against the evils created by ecclesiastical prerogatives.\*

Involved in Wolsey's delinquency of *premunire*, the clergy not only submitted to the penalty of a hundred thousand pounds,

\* It is curious to trace, in the preamble of this bill, a positive confirmation of all the arguments advanced in the Supplication of Beggars against Popery: — 1st, The oppressive fines extorted by the ordinary for the probates of wills: 2d, Extreme rigour in exacting mortuaries: 3d, The vexatious rapacity of stewards to bishops: 4th, The intrusion of abbots and priests in keeping tan-houses, buying and selling cloth and wool, like other merchants: 5th, That the incumbent of a good benefice was commonly maintained in some nobleman's family, regardless of the spiritual or temporal interests of his flock: 6th, The plurality of livings, by which many an illiterate priest was maintained in affluence, whilst many a learned scholar could not obtain a livelihood. Adverting to the extortion for mortuaries, it is said, "though the children of the defunct should go begging, they would take from him even the seely cow which the dead man owed them." As an instance of the excessive exaction for probates of wills, it is mentioned that Sir Henry Guilford, as executor to Sir William Compton's will, paid to the Archbishop of Canterbury the enormous sum of one thousand marks.

but recognised the sovereign as supreme head of the church; the parliament had next been inculcated, but received a gracious pardon, and the King's debts to the people were cancelled.\* At another time this

\* The following extract from that spirited tract, the Beggars' Supplication against Popery, appears to be a genuine transcript of the popular impression against the enormous usurpations of the clergy. This tract, suppressed by Wolsey and More, was privately sent to Anne Boleyn, who relished it so much, that she ventured to impart it to Henry. The King liked the work, but at that time ventured not to avow his sentiments. In 1538 it was openly presented to him at court, and is confessedly one of the most eloquent productions of that period. The close of the exordium presents a curious mixture of pedantry and argument:

" These are not the herds for sheep, but the ravenous wolves going in herds' clothing, devouring the flock. The bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and somners, and who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, (which, setting all labour aside,) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm. The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture,

fraud would have called forth popular indignation; but such was the general

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grass, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens; over and besides the tenth part of every servant's wages; the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter; yea, they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as an heretick. Hereto have they their four offering-days. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages! And at their first masses, every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges to be sung for him, or else they will accuse the dead's friends and executors of heresy! What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions, (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel,) by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars, chapels, and bells; by cursing of men and absolving them again for money! What multitude of money gather the pardoners in a year, by citing the people to the Commissaries Court, and afterwards releasing the appearance for money! Finally, the infinite number of beggar-friars, what get they in a year!

"Here, if it please your grace to mark, we shall see a thing far out of joint:—there are, within your realm of England, fifty-two parish churches, and this

satisfaction produced by the seasonable relief from ecclesiastical oppression, that

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standing; that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there five hundred thousand and twenty thousand households, and of every of these households hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders, five-pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders, twenty pence a year for every house; *summa totalis* forty-four thousand pounds; and three hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence sterling, whereof not four hundred years past, they had not one penny. Oh! grievous and painful exactions, thus yearly to be paid, from which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free!

“ And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it, then to be taken as an heretic. What tyranny ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good Christian prince can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your Grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken from among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of your commonwealth,

the murmurs of discontent were soon suppressed ; and Henry, in satisfying his immeasurable rapacity, inspired the gratitude due only to a generous benefactor.

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seeing, that almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied hath been gathered before, verily, by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation ? — The Danes, neither the Saxons, in the times of the antient Britons, should never have been able to have brought their armies from so far hither, and to your land, to have conquered it, if they had, at that time, such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home ; — the noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people ; — the Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had such an idle sort of cormorants to find ; — the antient Romans had never been able to put all the world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus oppressed ; — the Turk, now in your time, should never be able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance : lay then, these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that you may see whether it draw nigh to the half of the whole substance of the realm or not ; so shall you find that it draweth far above.”

From this commencement the reformers drew the most auspicious presage. Henry's passions were enlisted in their cause; and he was too much delighted to have discovered an unexpected mine of wealth, to listen to the denunciations of Fisher, or the warning of Wolsey, who constantly identified the adversaries of the Church with the subverters of government, and bequeathed a solemn charge against the Lutherans.\* To prevent a total breach with the court of Rome,

\* The Cardinal died at Leicester, 1530, as he was journeying to London to take his trial on a new charge of high treason. By a singular chance it devolved on Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Anne Boleyn's unfortunate lover, to take into custody his former lord. Wolsey was preparing for his installation in York cathedral, which was to be celebrated with a magnificence never before witnessed in that remote county. On hearing of the Earl's arrival, he expressed the most cordial satisfaction, and affectionately embraced him, regretting that he had not been better prepared for his reception. The Earl who was ill-suited to his office, pale and trembling, in scarcely articulate accents said, "I arrest you." The Cardinal refused to recognise his authority; but, on seeing Sir William Kingston, sur-



the principal nobility and clergy addressed a remonstrance to Clement, in which, after having stated the decisions of the universities in favour of the divorce, they protested, that by withholding his consent, he would compel the King and his subjects to withdraw from his paternal protection. To this paper Wolsey had perhaps refused

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rendered to him without resistance. Both his jailors endeavoured to dissipate his apprehensions, and to persuade him that the King merely wished to afford him an opportunity of exculpating his conduct. Without hesitation the Cardinal commenced his journey; but soon finding himself too ill to proceed, prepared for death, conversing to his last moments with that persuasive eloquence which had so often bewitched the sovereign who now decreed his fate. In his concluding speech to Kingston, who had been, unknown to him, his secret enemy, he made an allusion to the cause of his misfortunes, which countenances the idea that he had originally suggested to Henry the possibility of effecting the divorce: "Therefore, Mr. Kingston, I warn you, if it chance you hereafter to be of his privy council, as for your wisdom you are very mete, be well assured and advised what you put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again." — Wordsworth's edition of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*.

to affix his signature ; and whether Henry was exasperated by his obstinacy, or suspicious of his loyalty, articles of treason were exhibited against him ; and, but for the seasonable arrival of death, he would have been conducted to the Tower, to linger in misery, or expire with shame. The death of Wolsey accelerated not the divorce ; but Henry still kept his court at Greenwich, with Queen Catharine, and still solaced himself with the society of Anne Boleyn.

During two years, the King had alternately employed menaces and solicitations, to obtain the sanction of a papal dispensation. Convinced, at length, that his applications were wholly unavailing, in the sessions of 1532, he caused the declarations of the several universities \* to be commu-

\* The universities of Orleans, Paris, Anjou, Toulouse, Blois, Bologna and Padua, Oxford and Cambridge. That Henry did not submit the question to the discussion of parliament is evident, from the manner in which the Lord Chancellor dismissed them:—"Now you, in this Commons house, may report in your coun-

nicated to the parliament ; after which a deputation from their body waited on the Queen, to persuade and admonish her to submit to the laws of God. But Catharine persisting in her former answer, she was warned “ that the King would in future be advised to abstain altogether from her society.” Notwithstanding this denunciation, however, Henry appears to have celebrated with her the Easter festival at Windsor ; after which he signified his pleasure, that she should remove to another place. To this injunction she yielded implicit obedience, and repaired first to More Park, and afterwards to East Hampstead ; whilst the King, more than ever perplexed, withdrew from convivial society, and neglected

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ties what you have seen and heard, and then all men shall openly perceive that the King hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as some strangers report, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and suretie of the succession of this realm. This is the cause of our repair to you, and now will we depart.”

all ordinary amusements, to devise some feasible expedient for realizing his intended marriage. With his parliament he deigned not to consult; either because he discovered not in their body the competence to offer any decision on the question, or because he distrusted the validity of statutes, which experience had taught him might be confirmed or cancelled at pleasure by a succeeding administration. Hitherto it had rather been by accident than choice, if he met the views of the reforming party; but the Pope's inflexibility left him no other resource than a vigorous adoption of their principles. In prohibiting the contribution of annates or first-fruits, he made another attack on the authority of the supreme Pontiff, which coming in the shape of financial calculation, was not unacceptable even to the clergy or the people. Still Henry hesitated to take a step by which he must formally separate himself and his subjects

from the mitred chief, whose spiritual jurisdiction was acknowledged by every people of Christendom. Retaining the pusillanimous scruples imbibed from education, he sought for some royal or imperial precedent by which to regulate his conduct, and eagerly suggested the idea of establishing in his own dominions a patriarch, or convoking a general council, according to the practice of the Eastern Empire; but above all things Henry was desirous to engage the concurrence, and even the co-operation, of the King of France in those projected substitutions and improvements. Through the agency of Cardinal du Bellai, (Bishop of Bayonne,) he had lately maintained a private correspondence with Francis, who urged him without delay to conclude the marriage with Anne Boleyn. To satisfy his doubts, however, Henry persisted in deferring it till after he should have had a confidential meeting with him at Calais. The inter-

vening time was partly spent in deliberations with Cromwell, then his efficient, if not his favorite, minister; in theological discussions with Cranmer; and, above all, in the delightful society of Anne Boleyn, with whom he now more openly associated.

During the last year she had resided in her father's mansion, at Durham House\*, but frequently rode in public with the King and his courtiers, in their pleasurable excursions to Richmond and Windsor. At this period Cranmer, who was still domesticated in her family, spent much of his time in Anne's society, and zealously improved the opportunity for infusing into her mind his own sentiments respecting the Reformation. In his correspondence with the Earl of Wiltshire, he mentions her association with the King in a manner that

\* On the site of the Adelphi. It was a spacious and magnificent mansion, remarkable for having been the house where the guilty Earl and Countess of Somerset lived several years without speaking to each other.

plainly shows that he considered it as a favourable omen. "The Countess," he writes in one of his letters, "is well. The King and the Lady Anne rode to Windsor yesterday, and to-night they be expected at Hampton-Court. God be their\* guide." From the emphasis with which Cranmer dwells on this circumstance, it is obvious that he anticipates from their increasing intimacy results the most auspicious to the progress of religious liberty. This idea was too flattering to Anne to be rejected; and the enthusiasm which it inspired in some degree relieved the cares and dignified the pursuits of ambition. Fortified by the decisions of the most celebrated divines of Europe, she conceived the dissolution of Henry's union with Catharine to be an indispensable act of duty; and it is probable that this persuasion, by reconciling her to herself, increased her happiness and her benevolence. After his

\* Strype's Cranmer.

formal separation from Catharine, Henry spent the summer of 1532 in a running progress\* through Middlesex and Berkshire. In whatever palace he sojourned, Anne Boleyn had also a temporary residence in its vicinity; and they were every day accustomed to meet on some chosen spot, and to spend many hours in walking and riding together.† During the progress of the divorce, Henry had acquired a keener relish for rural recreations, and the privileges of domestic privacy; he was no longer the frolic-loving Prince, who had delighted to surprise his consort in the fantastic disguise of Robin Hood,—who was

\* Hall.

† Some of these scenes are still preserved in traditional remembrance. In the neighbourhood of Staines was a nunnery, which is said to have sometimes afforded Anne Boleyn a temporary retreat; and about a mile distant stood a yew-tree, which was believed to have been the spot where Henry, at a certain hour, was accustomed to meet Anne Boleyn.



first in the lists, and foremost in the dance. Of his domestic habits and manners at this period, we have a pleasing picture in the correspondence of Cardinal du Bellai, who appears to have been admitted to his familiar intimacy; and the following letter, addressed to the Grand Master, Montmorenci, offers some amusing details of royal hospitality \* :

“ I should be unjust, not to acknowledge the handsome and very friendly attentions I have received from the King (and his Court), and in particular the familiar intimacy to which he has admitted me. I am every day alone with him hunting; he chats familiarly of his private affairs, and takes as much trouble to make me a partaker of his sports and his pleasures, as if I were in reality the superior personage. Sometimes Madame Anne joins our party;

\* \* These letters are appended to the History of the Divorce of Henry and Catharine, by Le Grand.

each equipt with the bow and arrows, as is, you know, the English style in hunting. Sometimes he places us both in a spot where we shall be sure to see him shoot the deer as they pass; and whenever he reaches a lodge appropriated to his servants, he alights to tell of all the feats that he has performed, and of all that he is about to do. The Lady Anne presented me with a complete hunting-suit, including a hat, a bow and arrow, and a greyhound. Do not fancy I announce this gift to make you believe I am thought worthy to possess a lady's favour. I merely state it to let you see how much this prince values the friendship of our monarch; for whatever this lady does is by King Henry's suggestion."

In another letter, which is dated Hanwell, the Cardinal intimates how ardently it is desired by Anne and Henry, that the former should be included in the intended meeting at Calais or Boulogne. "I am

convinced our sovereign, if he wished to gratify the King and Madame Anne, could devise nothing better than to authorise me to entreat that she may accompany him to Calais, to be there received and entertained with due respect; (it is nevertheless desirable that there be no company of ladies, since there is always better cheer without them;) but in that case, it would be necessary the King of France should bring the Queen of Navarre to Boulogne, that she in like manner might receive and entertain the King of England; I shall not mention with whom this idea originates, being pledged to secrecy; but you may be well assured I do not write without authority. As to the Queen of France\*, she is quite out of the question, as he would not meet her for the world; that Spanish costume is to him as abhorrent as the very devil. It

\* The Emperor's sister; consequently too nearly related to the injured Catharine.

would also give him great pleasure if the King would bring with him his sons, with whom he desires to cultivate a friendship. The Duke of Norfolk assures me, that much good may be expected to result from this interview; and that it will redound to the honor and glory of both nations. Let me however whisper, that our King ought to exclude from his train all imperialists, if any such there be in his court; and to take especial care that no mischievous wags or coxcomical jesters accompany him, a species of character utterly detested by this people." — From this brief sketch, it is easy to discover, that to preserve the station which Anne occupied in the King's affections, was a task neither light nor enviable: she had to enter into all his pursuits, whether grave or gay; to manifest an interest in his views and his wishes, however capricious or absurd; above all, she had to watch every thought, to rebut every

scruple, inimical to the progress of the reforming party. Her more agreeable occupations were to play and sing, to amuse his leisure hours ; sometimes, by her persuasive address, to entice his approbation of a liberal and enlightened work ; and sometimes, by dint of flattery or tender importunity, it was perhaps her privilege to surprise him into a benevolent action or a generous sentiment. Of herself, two opinions prevailed at this period : the one, that she was privately Henry's wife ; the other, that she had long been Henry's mistress. It should however be remembered, that the King's first object was to transmit the crown to his posterity ; and that from the unnatural dislike, which he appeared at this time to entertain against his daughter, the Princess Mary, he was more than ever anxious to secure the legitimate claims of any offspring with which he might hope to be blessed by Anne Boleyn. That he had long re-

linquished the hope, and even the wish, to induce Anne to listen to dishonorable proposals, must be evident to all, who, with an unprejudiced mind, have perused his correspondence; nor is it credible that, had she condescended to be his mistress, she would ever have been permitted to become his wife. To be crowned — to be proclaimed a queen, had long been the idol of her ambition: was it possible she should tamely abandon the object for which she had already sacrificed so much, at the moment when it was almost within her grasp? But the correspondence already referred to is sufficient to annihilate the suspicion. Henry was evidently so jealous of Anne's dignity, that he wished the Queen of Navarre to be included in the party at Boulogne, that whatever courtesy was shown by Anne to the King of France, might be repaid by Margaret to the King of England. Is it credible that Henry would have exacted such homage for his

mistress? or that, at the moment when he most anxiously wished to conciliate the friendship of Francis, he should have offered this marked, deliberate insult to his beloved sister? But Henry's solicitude for Anne's dignity was not satisfied till, by an unprecedented step, he had advanced her to a rank, which entitled its possessor to familiar association with the most illustrious personages in Europe. This fortunate expedient was no other than to invest her with the rank and privileges of a marchioness; a title rare and honorable in England, and never before conferred on any unmarried female. The first of September was the day appointed, and Windsor Castle the scene chosen, for the celebration of this solemnity. Early in the morning, the King, who had just arrived from Ampt-hill, proceeded to the chamber of presence, attended by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, several of the Bishops and principal members of the privy council, and the

French ambassadors. Here, surrounded by his courtiers, he took his place under the canopy of state : in the meanwhile, a procession of noblemen, walking two and two, heralded the approach of Anne Boleyn. She was preceded by the beautiful Lady Mary Howard, on whose arm was suspended the furred mantle appropriate to her intended rank of peeress, whilst in her right hand she bore the precious coronet which formed the common badge of nobility. The Marchioness elect next appeared, leaning on two peeresses, the Countess of Rutland and the Countess-dowager of Sussex. She was simply dressed in a circote of cloth of gold, richly trimmed with crimson, and on her head wore no other coif than her own braided hair. In her train followed many ladies and gentlemen, habited with suitable magnificence. When she approached the throne, she suddenly paused, and thrice curtsied, with the lowest obeisance ; then, advancing nearer to



her sovereign, knelt down; her ladies assumed the same humble posture. The Garter at Arms then presented to the King a roll of parchment, which was by him delivered to Bishop Gardiner, who, in an audible voice, read the letters patent, in which it was stated, that for her various excellent and transcendant accomplishments and virtues, Anne was created Marchioness of Pembroke. At the word *investimus*, the ladies all arose, and the King having first received from Anne's hands the mantle, restored it to her, and placed on her head the demi-circular coronet, eagerly anticipating the moment when it should be encircled with a regal diadem. \*

\* "There were also delivered to her two several letters patents; one of her said creation, the other of a gift of a thousand pounds by year, to maintain her estate.

"The Lady Marchioness gave unto Garter King of Armes for her apparell, 8*l*.

"To the officers of arms, 11*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

"And the King gave unto the officers of arms, 5*l*."  
*Park's edition of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.*

The ceremony being concluded, the King and his suite repaired to the College; where, after hearing mass, he ratified by a solemn oath the league with France, to which the French monarch was equally pledged by his ambassador, Monsieur Pomeroi: then was pronounced a Latin oration in praise of amity and concord; and, finally, the engagement was consummated by a feast in the castle, to which no women were admitted.

On becoming Marchioness of Pembroke, Anne had been presented with a set of jewels\* suitable to a princess, and provided

\* In Strype's *Cranmer*, we have the following list of jewels, extracted from the Records of the Jewel Office:—

“One carkeyne of gold antique work, having a shield of gold set with a great rose, containing twelve diamonds, one fair table diamond, one pointed diamond, one table ruby, and three fair hanging pearls; another carcanet of gold, with two hands holding a great owche of gold, set with a great table balasse, one pointed diamond, two table diamonds, one rising with lozenges, the other flat, and one other long-lozenged diamond, four hanging pearls; a thin

with an establishment on a commensurate scale of magnificence. In her progress to Calais with Henry, she was accompanied by several ladies of the first quality ; who, since neither the wives nor the daughters of the nobility were included in the arrangements for the meeting, must have gone ostensibly as her personal attendants.\* It was probably at this brilliant period of her existence, that Wiatt, beholding in

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carkeyne of gold enamelled with black and white, with an owche of gold enamelled white and blue, set with a great rocky ruby, one rocky emerald, one pointed diamond, one table diamond ; a harte of a diamond, rising full of lozanges, and one fair hanging pearl ; to these were added three other carkeynes equally magnificent ; also, for an ornament, St. George on horseback, garnished with sixteen small diamonds, and in the belly of the dragon a rocky pearl ; to another carkeyne of gold, a similar ornament was appended ; to these were added a chain of the Spanish fashion, enamelled white, red, and black. Sent unto the King's Highness from Greenwich to Hampton Court, by Master Norris, the 21st of September, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign."

\* See Hall.

Anne, his future queen, addressed to her the following elegant and tender lines, with which, even as a stateswoman, she could not but be touched and gratified : —

Forget not yet the tried intent  
Of such a truth as I have meant;  
My great travail so gladly spent,  
Forget not yet.

Forget not yet, when first began,  
The weary life, ye know — since when  
The suit, the service, none tell can ;  
Forget not yet.

Forget not yet the great assays,  
The cruel wrong, the scornful ways,  
The painful patience and delays,  
Forget not yet.

Forget not, oh ! forget not this,  
How long ago hath been, and is,  
The mind that never meant amiss,  
Forget not yet.

Forget not thine own approved,  
The which so long hath thee so loved,  
Whose stedfast faith yet never moved ;  
Forget not this.

Although it can scarcely be suspected that Wiatt seriously cherished for Anne a

warmer sentiment than friendship, it was perhaps not without some painful solicitude that he witnessed, during the expedition to Calais, her assumption of royal state, such as could alone be proper in the acknowledged wife of his sovereign. In a sonnet written at this period, he alludes to the royal chains appended to her neck, by which she was designated, as belonging to Cæsar. It might, however, afford some gratification to his pride or delicacy, that she remained with decorous privacy in the Exchequer, in which she had been lodged with the other ladies, whilst the King, attended by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the prime of his nobility, proceeded to Boulogne, where Francis, in like manner, accompanied by the king of Navarre, his three sons, and the princes of the blood, awaited his approach. The present meeting was formed under auspices far different from those which had presided at their former interview, in the

celebrated Field of Gold. Although both monarchs were still in the vigour of life, time had wrought in them some alterations, perceptible to the most superficial observer. The symmetry of Henry's form was already impaired by corpulence ; the vigorous constitution of Francis broken by alternatives of hardship and indulgence, resulting from his misfortunes or his misconduct. Accustomed to contend with noble foes, or to grapple with substantial difficulties, these princes abandoned to others the puerile trophies of the tilting-field, but still retained their original fondness for pomp and splendour ; and when they met between Calais and Bologne, the competition in jewels and cloths of gold between themselves and their lords was still apparent. In elegance of manners Francis was confessedly without a rival ; and to their usual fascination was now added the elegance of genuine emotion. When clasping Henry to his breast, he exclaimed, " Sir, you are the person I am most bound to in the world ; and for the

friendship I have received, I beg you to take me as yours," Henry replied in a suitable strain of cordiality; and they proceeded towards Boulogne, when, to beguile the way, the hawks were loosed, and both the French and English lords eagerly partook of this pastime. As they approached the town, they descried on the hill a body of five hundred cavaliers, who immediately descended to salute the English party. At the head of this chosen band, were the three eldest sons of Francis, whom he presented to Henry, with these words: "My children, you are no less bound to this Prince than to me, your natural father; for he redeemed me and you from captivity." Henry embraced the youths with the warmest expressions of attachment; and the remainder of this day, like many which succeeded, was spent, both by French and English, in festivity and harmony. But with these convivial pleasures, the two kings intermingled political and theological

discussions. It was the aim of Henry to induce Francis to sanction, by example, his own renunciation of papal authority ; but to this step the King of France evinced insuperable repugnance, although he heartily concurred in the propriety of the divorce, and the expediency of the projected marriage. During these private conferences, Anne Boleyn might have often trembled lest the friendly dispositions of Francis should be counteracted by his arguments ; and it must have been a seasonable relief to her anxiety, when the English monarch led back the French Prince to Calais, where her personal influence would turn the balance in her favor. As the Queen of Navarre had not accepted the King of England's invitation, Anne remained in seclusion during the visit of the French monarch ; but on the Sunday, when Henry gave a sumptuous feast to the royal party, she devised a masque in the French style, to heighten the entertainment. At the



close of a supper, at which both monarchs had been regaled with choice viands and exquisite wines, the doors were thrown open, when the Marchioness, followed by seven ladies, all masked, and habited in cloth of gold, entered the apartment, attended by four damsels, attired in crimson satin : the Marchioness immediately challenged the French King to dance ; whilst the Countess of Derby selected the King of Navarre ; every other lady chose a lord, and the dance began, of which Henry remained a passive spectator, till, plucking from each fair dame her visor, he introduced the ladies to their admiring partners, and Francis discovered that he had been dancing with Anne Boleyn, whom he had never seen since she quitted his court, a giddy, volatile girl, of all human beings, the least likely to become the consort of a great monarch. After mutual compliments, Francis gallantly pressed on her acceptance a jewel, worth fifteen thou-

sand livres, and immediately bade her farewell. Henry attended him to his lodging, where the two Kings took leave with sentiments of real cordiality far different from those specious professions of gallantry with which they had, twelve years before, amused themselves and their respective courts. On the following morning, Francis returned to Boulogne; and, a few days after, the English monarch and his suite re-embarked for England, fully resolved to espouse the woman who had so long possessed his affections: but it is a curious fact, that there is no point of history more uncertain than the precise period at which the marriage actually took place. By many of the chroniclers, and some of our best historians, it is fixed on the very day on which Henry and Anne landed at Dover; but, if concealment were the object, it should seem more likely that it had been performed at Calais: by other authorities the ceremony is deferred to the first of

January, when it is stated to have been privately performed by Dr. Lee, in the presence of the Earl and Countess of Wiltshire, and two or three other confidential friends. According to either opinion \*, the marriage must have been solemnised previous to the sentence of divorce definitively pronounced against Catharine.

By the authority of the convocation, an episcopal court was convened at Dunstable, in the vicinity of Catharine's residence †, to which she was once more cited ; on not answering the citation she was declared contumacious, and the long-suspended sentence of divorce finally pronounced by Cranmer.

By the reforming party this decisive measure was hailed as auspicious of future triumph, and whatever sympathy might be

\* In Wiatt's Life of Queen Anne Bolen, it is decidedly stated to have been solemnised on the first of January.

† At Ampthill.

awakened by Catharine's unmerited degradation, the popularity of the King's late administration was such as to silence or overpower the murmurs of discontent; In the council, much dissension prevailed on this subject. Gardiner temporised; Cromwell and Cranmer exulted; the Duke of Norfolk secretly deprecated the consequences that might ensue to the Roman party: and Sir Thomas More, although he had cordially concurred in the first steps against the national clergy, anticipating from the present measure a total separation from the church of Rome, resigned the great seal, which was immediately transferred to Sir Thomas Audley. Every obstacle to his wishes being removed, the King caused a proclamation to be issued on Easter-even, for the coronation of his beloved wife, Queen Anne; and letters were sent to the Mayor, and other municipal officers, directing them to conduct his consort, with the accustomed ceremonies, from Greenwich

to the Tower, and "to see the city gar-  
nished with pageants, according to ancient  
custom, for her reception." Whatever  
difference of opinion existed respecting  
the marriage, a general sensation of interest  
was created by the coronation ; a ceremony  
indispensably necessary to efface the im-  
pressions produced by the ambiguity of  
Anne's former position, and to secure, by  
a solemn national act, the legitimacy of  
her future offspring. The coronation of a  
Queen-consort, was a spectacle of which  
the novelty was well calculated to attract  
attention. Half a century had revolved  
since Henry the Seventh of Lancaster re-  
luctantly permitted this tribute of respect to  
be offered to the amiable Elizabeth Planta-  
genet. An interval of twenty-three years  
had elapsed, since Henry the Eighth had  
been crowned with his now rejected Catha-  
rine ; and although the present ceremony  
was perhaps not entitled to the same mag-  
nificence which had been displayed on that

occasion, it might aspire to even superior elegance and taste, since its object was a woman in the prime of youth and beauty, the history of whose romantic fortunes had been the familiar theme of conversation to every country in Europe; for whose exaltation a part of the national system had actually been subverted; or rather, perhaps, by whose ambition a vestige of national independence had been restored. The prelude of this solemnity, which on Whitsunday was to be concluded, commenced on the Thursday in Easter-week, with the ceremony of conducting the Queen from Greenwich to the Tower of London; a spectacle not only offering the attraction of picturesque beauty, but equally calculated to gratify patriotic feeling and to captivate the imagination. At three o'clock the civic fleet of fifty barges, representing the various commercial companies\* of Lon-

\* Many of the mottoes appended to their respective flags, conveyed religious sentiments favorable to

don, was in readiness for the Queen's embarkation. The awnings were of cloth of gold, or silk, emblazoned with the arms of England, and ornamented with various curious pageants, among which the Queen's appropriate device of a falcon was eminently conspicuous.\* Next to the Mayor's boat, and in a manner committed to his tutelary protection, appeared the royal barge, in which, superbly attired in cloth of gold, sat Anne, surrounded by her obsequious ladies. A hundred barges belonging to the nobility followed, magnificently ornamented with silk or cloth of gold, gliding

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the school of Wickliffe or Luther. Of the Grocers', (incorporated under Edward the Third,) the motto was, "God grant grace;" of the Fishmongers', (Henry the Eighth,) "All worship be to God only;" the Goldsmiths', (Richard the Second,) "To God only be all glory;" of the Clothworkers', (Henry the Eighth,) "My trust is in God alone."

\* In one of the boats was a mount on which sat virgins melodiously singing, in honor of the new Queen.

on in harmonious order to measured strains of music. Innumerable streamers waved in the wind, to which were attached bells, floating on the air with responsive melody. The river was covered with boats; the shores were lined with spectators; and it might have been supposed that London was deserted of its inhabitants, but for the innumerable multitudes collected near the Tower to witness the Queen's disembarkation. Never, since the birth of her ambitious hopes, had Anne experienced such exquisite gratification; and never, perhaps, was she destined to realise another day of genuine felicity! The regal diadem to which she had so long aspired—that phantom of greatness, to which she had sacrificed the brilliant hours of youth, the purest sources of happiness—was now secured to her possession. The little interval of time that was yet to intervene before the crown should actually be placed on her head, gave to this anti-taste of sovereignty a



peculiar zest of enjoyment ; and, without feeling the pressure of royal care, she gloried in the splendor, she reposed in the consciousness of supreme pre-eminence. The desire of pleasing had hitherto exposed her to censure ; but vanity assumed the character of benevolence in a Queen whose looks and even whose gestures, were watched with impassioned devotion, and who sought by winning smiles and gracious language, not only to inspire enthusiasm, but to impart delight. On this day, at least, she might indulge the hope, that she was the object of a sympathy more unequivocally flattering than the most adulatory homage. Her approach to the Tower was heralded by a discharge of artillery, "the like whereof," says Hall, "was never heard before ;" which was lost amidst the shouts, and answered by the spontaneous acclamations of the people.

Among the assembled multitude, there were, perhaps, few who quitted the scene

indifferent to the future welfare of the woman who had that day been the object of universal curiosity and attention : such is the interest excited by situations of enterprise and danger, and so grateful to the mind is the contemplation of those rare achievements, of which the unexpected success seems, by a felicitous experiment, to extend the ordinary limits of human destiny.

On the succeeding Saturday Anne went in procession through the streets of London, borne in a litter, magnificently arrayed, and unveiled to public view, precisely as, nineteen years before, Mary Queen of France had made her triumphal entry through the streets of Paris. On Whit-Sunday the spectacle closed with the most imposing, though least elegant part of the ceremony, the actual coronation.

Anne was led to the church in gorgeous state ; her train borne by the aged Duchess of Norfolk, and the Archbishops of York

and Canterbury ; whilst she herself leaned for support on the arm of her father, to whose prudence and vigilance, even more than to her own personal attractions, she was indebted for her extraordinary elevation. In her train followed peers, and peeresses, knights, commoners, and gentlewomen : to the practised eye the rank of each lady was designated by the powdered border that embellished the mantle or robe ; and whilst the wife or daughter of a peer wore over a circot of scarlet a mantle fringed with ermine, the knight's consort was simply attired in a short gown, her shoulders unencumbered with the gorgeous trappings of nobility. After a variety of tedious forms and ceremonies\*, the heavy sceptre was placed in one hand, and the ivory globe in the other ; at the conclusion of the last anthem Anne gladly resigned St. Edward's ponderous crown for a less

\* For a more minute account of the ceremony, see the extract from Stow at the end of the volume.

oppressive diadem, and no sooner was it placed on her head, than at the same instant each marchioness put on her crescent, wrought with flowers, each countess assumed her plain coronet, and every king at arms exhibited the broad gilt crown, with which, during that day at least, he was permitted to sustain his part in monarchical pageantry; finally, amidst these reflected images of regality, the new Queen withdrew under a gorgeous canopy, borne by the four Cinque Barons, with all the dignity and self-possession that became a queen. But the spectacle was not concluded; Anne had to sit under the cloth of estate during the livelong feast, of which each course was heralded by trumpets, whilst the most illustrious peers of England performed the duties of domestic attendants. At the close of the repast she rose, and, with an air of mingled majesty and sweetness, advanced to the middle of the hall, where the mayor, according to

ancient custom, presented to her the hippocras in a cup of gold\*, which, having raised to her lips, she returned to him with a graceful compliment, and left the hall, to receive the more cordial congratulations of her enamoured husband, who, accompanied by the French ambassadors, had taken his station at the window of an apartment adjoining the hall, from whence he had commanded a full view of the ceremony.

With whatever pride or pleasure he might have contemplated Anne's triumph, it was impossible he should have entirely excluded the recollection of that memorable two-

\* It is at this moment, when she is about to return the cup, that she is represented in the plate prefixed to this volume, of which it is proper to remark, that it is a reduced copy from an etching, by Hollar, dated 1647. The original picture, from which it was made, was in the collection of his patron, the celebrated Lord Arundel, and painted by Hans Holbein. This etching has been pronounced a genuine portrait of Anne Boleyn by the following noted collectors of prints: — Joseph Gulston, Anthony Storer, Richard Bull, Sir William Musgrave, and Lord Orford.

and-twentieth of June, when he and the now rejected Catharine had been crowned together. He missed the presence of his beloved sister Mary, already languishing of a disease which was destined to prove mortal ; and, amidst the gaities of this hymeneal triumph, must have been painfully reminded that he had himself approached the autumnal season of existence.

To the Earl and Countess of Wiltshire this day of triumph could not but awaken some correspondent fears. Experience had taught them to distrust the constancy of Henry's affections, and to dread the effects of his resentment. They had seen their daughter raised to a pinnacle of greatness ; but her fate depended on his caprice : the breath of his displeasure would precipitate her to destruction.

In Anne herself, the event of the day must have inspired some serious thoughts

to chasten and depress her former exultation.

From the establishment of the Norman dynasty, no private gentlewoman, before Elizabeth Woodville, had been permitted to ascend the throne. \* With that solitary example were associated the mournful and appalling images of two murdered sons, a neglected daughter, and, most terrible of all, the dreary prison in which the once idolized Queen had been condemned to drag out the last period of life, the victim of Henry of Richmond's suspicious tyranny. The contemplation of such a picture might have awed and subdued a temper less ardent, a spirit less enthusiastic ; but to Anne Boleyn it lent a desperate resolution, and she resolved to live or die as became a queen ; to win the affections and command the respect of the people.

\* Elizabeth died in the Abbey of Bermondsey, to which she had been confined by her son-in-law, Henry the Seventh.

## CHAPTER VIII.

SÉQUÊL OF THE HISTORY OF QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN.

IN ardent minds, the aspirations of ambition are often associated with the amiable sympathies of benevolence, the love of power becomes identified with the love of virtue, and beautiful images of felicity are blended with romantic and magnificent illusions of glory. In ascending the throne, Anne appears to have expected that such dreams of youthful fancy were to be realised : her first impulse was to exalt her family, and to dispense all the goods of fortune to her most remote connexions ; her next, to justify the confidence reposed in her efforts by the reformers ; from all eyes, all hearts, to receive spontaneous homage ; to reign in the affec-



tions of her husband and his people ; — these were the objects for which she had so long submitted to voluntary penance and privation, and for these she exulted in possessing a crown. A short time was sufficient to prove to her the fallacy of these expectations. After the first few days devoted to festivity and congratulation \*, she became sensible of the onerous duties attached to pre-eminence. In regal state, the gratification of novelty was soon exhausted ; its constraint continued ; its cares redoubled. The weight of St. Edward's crown, of which she had felt the momentary pressure on the memorable day of

\* At one of those civic feasts to which Henry condescended to accompany his bride, was introduced the elegant novelty of a lemon, a luxury hitherto unknown to an English table. To an epicure, such as Henry, perhaps the acquisition of a castle in France would have been less acceptable ; and such was the importance attached to the discovery, that, in a bill belonging to the Leathersellers' Company, it was recorded that this royal lemon cost six silver pennies.

coronation, was every day experienced, unaccompanied by those emotions of joy and complacency which it originally created.

Independent of the anxiety, the doubts, the diffidence, with which she must have watched the fluctuations of Henry's capricious fancy, she had a constant source of uneasiness in the discordant views which prevailed among her nearest connections. Whilst the Countess of Wiltshire coalesced with the Howards, in whose hereditary pride she participated, the Earl regarded with distrust and aversion the Duke of Norfolk, who repined that his own daughter, the beautiful Lady Mary, or at least some relative of the name of Howard, had not been elevated to the throne. Insensible to the kindness with which Anne employed her influence to promote the union of Lady Mary with the Duke of Richmond, whom the King once intended to include in the succession, he artfully coalesced with Gardiner, the determined enemy of Lutheran-

ism ; not without the hope that, like another Wolsey, he should acquire unbounded influence in the King's counsels. As the brother-in-law of Henry the Seventh, he spurned the title of the Queen's uncle, but passionately desired to become the despotic minister of his sovereign. On his part, the Earl of Wiltshire was mortified at the preference shown to the Duke of Norfolk ; as the King's father-in-law, he had, perhaps, expected a ducal coronet, or some signal mark of royal favour. Prudence might keep him silent ; but his chagrin could not but be visible to his daughter, when he resigned his public employments, and retired from public life. With the Earl of Surry Anne lived in cordial friendship, and was apparently idolized by his beautiful sister ; but little reliance could be placed in the sincerity of this lady, who, some years after, with unblushing perfidy, furnished the evidence, however frivolous, on which her

brother was convicted of treason. With Elizabeth \*, Duchess of Norfolk, the ill-

\* The Duchess lived in Hertfordshire, on a stipend of three hundred marks per annum ; but she was destined for trials more severe than indigence and neglect, or even injustice. She saw her gallant son devoted to death ; her unnatural daughter conspire against a brother's life ; whilst her ungrateful husband survived a long imprisonment, to die in peace and honor under the auspices of his congenial kinswoman, Queen Mary. The remains of this unfortunate woman were consigned to the magnificent mausoleum of the Howards, at Lambeth ; and it seemed the consummation of her wretched destiny, that even her dust should be mingled with that of her enemies and persecutors : but her tomb was insulated ; and the following epitaph, written by her brother, Henry Lord Stafford, commemorates her virtues ; .

“ Farewell good lady and sister dear,  
In earth we shall never meet here ;  
But yet I trust, with Godis grace,  
In Heaven we shall deserve a place.  
Yet thy kindness shall never depart.  
During my life, out of my heart ;  
Thou art to me, both far and near,  
A brother, a sister, a friend most dear,  
And to all thy friends most near and fast  
When Fortune sounded his froward blast,

fated daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, Anne could have had no intercourse, since she was supplanted in her husband's affections, and driven from his house by injurious treatment. Of all her domestic connections, the individual most endeared to her heart was George Boleyn Lord Rochford : but even this fraternal friendship was embittered by his wife, from whom she had received repeated proofs of aversion and hostility. With a true sense of dignity, she scorned, as a queen, to resent the injuries offered to Anne Boleyn ; for her brother's sake, she permitted even her *ancient* enemy to be one of the ladies of her

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And to the poor a very mother,  
 More than was known to any other ;  
 Which is thy treasure now at this day,  
 And for thy soul they heartily pray.  
 So shall I do, that here remain ; —  
 God preserve thy soul from pain.

By thy most bounden Brother,

HENRY LORD STAFFORD."

Aubrey's History of Lambeth.

bedchamber ; and, by this fatal generosity, eventually furnished the opportunity, so long desired, of accelerating her own ruin. With the same liberal spirit she recalled her aunt, Lady Edward Boleyn, to the place she had occupied under Catharine, although of all women she appears to have been the least congenial to her tastes and feelings. With Wiatt, now promoted to the office of ewerer of the royal household, she no longer permitted any familiar intercourse, and in this instance her prudence appears to have been repaid with gratitude and honour ; she continued, however, to admire and patronize his talents, and was, perhaps, still unconsciously the muse that inspired his happiest effusions ; whilst his sister, Mrs. Margaret Lee \*, a woman of irreproachable character, became one of her chosen and confidential attendants. Amongst the other ladies of her establish-

\* Nott's Life of Wiatt.

ment, were the Countesses of Worcester and Oxford, women of unsullied fame, whose presence seemed to guarantee the honour and discretion of their mistress.

An extreme susceptibility to praise was, perhaps, the vulnerable point of Anne's character, and that by which she was frequently exposed to pain and disappointment. Within the first month of her triumph, at the moment when, to undiscerning eyes, she seemed to have reached the pinnacle of felicity, she was humbled by a poor Franciscan friar, who, in Henry's chapel at Greenwich; and even in his presence, intrepidly denounced his dereliction of faith to Catharine, and audaciously compared him to the wicked Ahab. Henry listened with composure, and quietly admonished the friar to retract : he persisted, and was supported by other monks of his fraternity. Henry affected to smile at their vehemence ; but the monastery was sup-

pressed, and all the brothers of the community were banished.

On another occasion, Anne had to experience a more painful mortification—that of disappointing the hopes attributed to her influence. She was notoriously at the head of the reformers, and delighted to believe that she was really destined to watch, like a tutelary angel, over that oppressed party. Experience soon showed the fallacy of this expectation; when, by the artifices of Gardiner, a young man of parts and learning, and of exemplary conduct, was sacrificed to clear the King's character from the imputation of heretical apostacy. To explain this circumstance, it is necessary briefly to remark the little progress hitherto made by the new doctrines in England.

To the cultivated mind nothing is more delightful than to measure, with the strength of potentates, and the trophies of conquerors, those auspicious changes in the moral



aspect of society, of which a solitary individual is sometimes permitted to become the agent : such an example is presented by Luther, who, in sixteen years, by the force of mental energy alone, had imparted a new character to a large part of Europe. Whilst three successive Popes preached a crusade against the enemies of Christendom, this champion of free enquiry denounced the errors and corruptions of Christianity. When the two great rival monarchs of France and Spain lavished blood and treasure on frivolous objects, of which no vestige now remains but in the records of human misery, the regenerated monk presented to his countrymen a translation of the Scriptures ; and thus for ever abolished that mental vassalage, in which a small privileged class had hitherto held the great mass of mankind. In England the progress of Luther's principles was neither rapid nor decisive. The clergy strenuously resisted the importation of an English Bible,

without which it was obvious no radical changes in the system of superstition could be effected.

At this period the English reformers might be divided into two classes, of which the first and most important derived their opinions from Wickliffe, rather than Luther. Of these old English patriots, it appears to have been the first object to abolish papal supremacy, and the next to circumscribe the power of the clergy, for whose prerogative or emolument the usages of penance, purgatory, pilgrimage, and other anile superstitions were obviously perpetuated. From the commencement of his reign, Henry had participated in the contempt of the reformers for monastic communities, and cordially concurred in Wolsey's plan of suppressing the inferior monasteries, and establishing in their place schools and colleges for the regeneration of the clergy.\*

\* In 1512, the decline of conventual establishments was already perceptible; when a pious layman, who

Although he had started against Luther as the champion of Rome, he was jealous of the encroachments of the Anglican church, and eagerly embraced every occasion for checking their rapacity and presumption. With these prepossessions in favour of Cromwel's measures, he willingly listened to his proposal of augmenting the royal revenue, by the sacrifice of ecclesiastical establishments; but his prejudices to Lutheranism remained unaltered; nor, with the exception, perhaps, of Anne Boleyn and Cranmer, does it appear that Wiatt, or Brandon, or any of the ministerial reformers, had hitherto extended their views beyond the abolition of papal jurisdiction, and the retrenchment of those ecclesiastical privileges maintained and

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proposed to appropriate a certain fund for the erection of a monastery, was dissuaded from it by Bishop Fox, who recommended to him rather to institute schools for the instruction of youth, than to multiply nurseries of sloth and sensuality.

fostered by popular superstition, which affected the higher rather than the lower orders of society. Sensible that this pernicious empire was founded on ignorance and credulity, \* they secretly encouraged the

\* The priestcraft employed appears to have been precisely such as, till lately, existed in all Catholic countries, and consisted of pretensions to miraculous relics, and other preternatural agencies. Four times every year was pronounced a curse against certain offences. The sermons were sometimes plain, practical discourses, but frequently interlarded with legends calculated to nourish a servile devotion to the priests. In a sermon against irreverence, is introduced an anecdote of St. Austin, who, "having found two women prating together, saw that the Fiend sat in their necks, writing on a great roll what the women said; and letting it fall, Austin went and took it up, and having asked the women, what they talked, they said their Paternoster; then Austin read the roll, and there was never a good word in it." In a sermon on burying the dead, the following anecdotes were given of spirits: — "Many walk on nights, when buried in holy place; but that is not long of the Fiend, but the grace of God to get them help: and some be guilty, and have no rest. Four men stole an Abbot's ox to their larder; the Abbot did a sentence, and cursed them: so three of them were shriven, and asked mercy; the

circulation of the Scriptures, and of other tracts calculated to enlighten the people. Several enterprising merchants co-operated in this undertaking; the bishops took the alarm, and, on the pretext that it was an heretical translation, Tindall's Bible was denounced, and all who could be convicted of promoting its circulation prosecuted with

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fourth died, and was not assoiled, and had not forgiveness; so when he was dead the spirit went by night, and feared all the people about, that none durst walk after sun-down. Then, as the parish-priest went a-night with God's body to housel a sick man, this spirit went with him, and told him what he was, and why he walked, and prayed the priest to go to his wife that they should go both to the Abbot, to make him amends for the trespass, and go to assoil him, for he might have no rest: and anon the Abbot assoiled him, and he went to rest and joy for evermore." The drift of such discourses was obviously to keep the people in ignorance and subjection to the will of their priests. The people were also told, that "lewd men and women to dispute of this sacrament are utterly forbidden; for it is enough for them to believe as holy church teacheth."

unrelenting rigour. \* The most dreadful demoralization was produced by these

\* Wolsey, though not always disposed to second prelati cal zeal against heretics, concurred in the persecution of Tindall and his adherents. Bishop Tonstall, with more good-nature than judgment, thought to remove the evil by buying up all the remaining copies of the English Bible, by which means he enabled the reformers to put forth another edition. Sir Thomas More pursued a far different course from Tonstall. Not having Wolsey's motives for counteracting the Anglican clergy, he called on the bishops to extirpate heresies and punish heretics, and enforced the penal laws against them. In the bishops' courts cognizance was taken of many delinquents, on the charge of having taught their children the Lord's Prayer in English; for having read forbidden books; or, in conversation, expressed contempt for such observances as penance and pilgrimage, the worshipping of saints and images: of these, the majority abjured from terror, and were thus taught to practise deception and hypocrisy. During More's administration, Hilton, Bilney, Byfield, and Bainham were committed to the flames. Indulgence was leased for forty days, to any who would bring a faggot to aid in destroying a heretic.

Sir Thomas More is said to have once spared a heretic for a *bon mot*. In examining a refractory Lutheran, whose name was Silver, the Chancellor re-

severities \* : husbands betrayed their wives ; unnatural children conspired against the existence of their parents ; friends and brothers became spies and informers ; truth and integrity were banished from domestic society, and those flagitious crimes, by cupidity and ambition fostered in a court, were transplanted to the lower walks of life, where they seemed likely to destroy every vestige of genuine piety and national honour. Hitherto the doctrine of transubstantiation had been little agitated,

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minded him, in allusion to his death, that silver must be tried in the fire :—" Aye," cried the culprit, " but quicksilver will not abide it."

This is not the only instance in which a species of punning or quibbling obtained special favor. In an insurrection, which the Duke of Suffolk had been sent to quell, in 1525 ; having defeated the insurgents, he demanded to see their captain ; on which one of the ring-leaders boldly answered, — " Our captain is *necessity*, and *poverty* is our comrade." The Duke felt the truth of the sentiment, and the wretched vagrants found mercy.

\* See Strype, Collier, &c.

either because the Lutherans had been counteracted by the want of general information, or that the practical and oppressive evils resulting from the existing system superseded all other considerations. In certain minds of a more reflective cast, these abstruse subjects of speculation began, however, to occupy attention; but it is remarkable that Frith, although he had plunged deeply into theology, and rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, continued to deprecate all public controversies on the subject, and was alone induced, by the solicitations of certain religious friends, to commit to paper those well-digested arguments which formed the grounds of his internal convictions. Carelessness or treachery led to their publication, and Frith, who, from motives of humanity, might have hesitated to proclaim his tenets, at this perilous crisis felt himself imperatively bound by honour to defend them;



and, after a manly vindication of their truth, sealed his faith with the crown of martyrdom.

Although Anne appears to have been uniformly opposed to persecution, she was in this instance counteracted by Gardiner, and by the King's pertinacious zeal for the Catholic church. But if Anne was not permitted to rescue Frith, she had soon after the happiness to achieve the deliverance of the celebrated Hugh Latimer, who, from a persecutor, was become a champion of the new sect, and, with characteristic zeal, now defended those principles he had formerly condemned. His apostacy excited alarm ; and, in the depth of winter, he was summoned from his vicarage to answer for his innovation before Stokesly, Bishop of London, by whose authority he was committed to prison. Alone and unprotected, Latimer was now the devoted victim of bigotry and malice ;

but Anne's humanity became his advocate. In the full tide of fortune and felicity, she watched over the safety of one, of whom she only knew that he dared to preach as he believed, and to practise what he preached. Impressed with her solicitations, the King interposed, and the pastor was restored to life and liberty. Anxious to see and hear the preacher so celebrated for the force and pathos of his eloquence, the Queen had but to intimate her wish, and it was gratified. But it was with the firmness and simplicity of an apostle that Latimer came to Court, not to flatter, but to admonish or reprove ; to expose the vanity of human expectations ; to exalt the dignity and importance of the relative duties, and to call the mind to the awful contemplation of eternity. Anne received with docility, or rather, perhaps, imbibed with enthusiasm, the lessons of her austere monitor ; and, with the earnestness that marks sincerity, entreated him to point out whatever

appeared amiss in her conduct and deportment. Latimer replied not as a courtier but as a sage, who despised the blandishments of women, and had long been insensible to the influence of beauty; he seriously exhorted the Queen to inculcate the duties of morality and piety on her attendants, and strenuously to enforce her precepts by example. \*

In lending protection to Latimer, Anne might be prompted by compassion, or enthusiasm, or even that love of popularity which appears to have been her ruling passion; but the esteem and attachment she afterwards manifested for this rigid teacher, bespeaks a strength of character, and indicates capacities for thinking and feeling, never to be found in an ordinary mind; nor would it be candid to refer to policy alone, a conduct evidently arising from purer motives and nobler sentiments. But it may be asked, why it should appear

\* See Strype, Fox, and Gilpin's *Life of Latimer*.

incredible, that Anne was really penetrated by the force of those arguments to which she listened with reverence? Raised to the summit of human greatness, fatigued with the cares, and, perhaps, even cloyed with the pleasures of ambition, why should she not at length seek happiness or tranquillity, where only they are to be found, in the faithful discharge of moral and religious duties?

Under the auspices of Latimer, a striking change was effected in the exterior of Anne's court: habits of industry and application were introduced; the Queen not only assisted in the tapestry, which afterwards embellished Hampton Court\*, but,

\* "Those that have seen, at Hampton Court, the rich and exquisite works, for the greater part wrought by her own hand, and needle, and also of her ladies, esteem them the most pretious furniture, that are to be accounted amongst the most sumptuous that any prince might be possessed of; and yet far more rich and pretious were those works in the sight of God, which she caused her maidens, and those about her,

by her own example, encouraged the ladies to work for the poor : to discountenance levity and idleness, she presented to each of them a small manuscript volume, moral or devotional, which was substituted for the looking-glass, or the legend of \* chivalry, formerly appended to the girdle. By this strictness she perhaps created enemies ; but that the King approved her conduct, is evident, from the promotion of Latimer to the see of Worcester : nor can he be supposed to have limited her munificence, which must have far exceeded the queenly revenue. With equal wisdom and liberality, she directed a certain sum to be dis-

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daily to woork, in shirts and smocks for the poore ; but not staying here, her eie of charity, her hand of bounty passed through the whole land ; each place felt that heavenly flame burning in her ; at times will remember it." Wiatt's Queen Anne Bolen. — Fox and Strype attest the same facts.

\* The popular reading of the day, so contemptuously stigmatised by Ascham,

tributed to every village in England, for the relief of its poor or distressed inhabitants. In imitation of her father and Wolsey, she maintained a certain number of promising youths at college, and took upon herself the care of their future \* preferment. To many of these regulations she might have been prompted by Cranmer, or aided by Cromwel ; but to have discovered their utility, and to have thus given a steady direction to the impulses of benevolence, is equally creditable to the feelings of her heart and the powers of her understanding.

During the first year of her marriage, Anne perceived no diminution in Henry's attachment. Not even the disappointment of his dearest hopes, (which all centred in the possession of a son,) for whose accomplishment he had looked to her with

\* Doctor Hethe and Sir William Paget both originally patronised by the Earl of Wiltshire, were afterwards protected by his daughter ; as was Dr. Thirbly, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

superstitious confidence; not even the birth of a daughter, however contrary to his anticipations, deprived her of his tenderness; and he received, with becoming gratitude, the infant Elizabeth, who was universally acknowledged his presumptive heiress. The christening was solemnised with all the pomp of royal magnificence\* ; but to those,

“ In the ordonnances of the Countess of Richmond and Derby, it is directed, that there should be provided for the Queen’s bed, two pair of sheets, of linen, each four yards broad, and five yards long; two head sheets, three yards broad, and four yards long; two long, and two square pillows of fustian, stuffed with fine down. A pane of scarlet, furred with ermine, and embroidered with crimson velvet, upon velvet, or rich cloth of gold; and a head-sheet, of like cloth of gold furred with ermine. A kevertour of fine lawn, of five breadths, and six yards long; a matrass stuffed; with wool; a feather bed, with a bolster of down; a spawer of crimson satin, embroidered with crowns of gold; the King and Queen’s arms, and other devices lined with double torlenon, garnished with fringe of silk, blue, russet, and gold; four cushions of crimson damask cloth, cloth of gold; a round mantle of crimson velvet, plain furred with ermine, for the Queen to

who, like the Duke of Norfolk and his step-mother, and the Earl and Countess of Wiltshire, could recollect that similar honors had been showered on the now disinherited Mary, this scene must have appeared a heartless pageant, and the little princess herself but a mock idol, to be worshipped

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wear about her in her pallet. In the christening procession, it was required, that a Duchess should carry the child, if a Prince or Earl; if a Princess, a Countess was to bear the train; the church and altar were to be hung with cloth of gold; before the child were borne two hundred torches, which, on reaching the church, were all placed around the font; the desk was to be elevated, to afford the people an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony. In the infant's hand was placed a small taper, which he was to deposit on the altar. At the church door, stood the serjeant of the King's pantry with a towel of reynes about his neck, and a salt-cellar in his hand, ready to take a grain of the salt before it was hallowed. In like manner, the serjeant of the ewer, was ready to present to the Bishops and sponsors, the basin to wash; and the officers of the spicery, as usual, were at hand with the voider of spices."



or rejected according to the caprice of an imperious father.

In the King, pride and policy concurred with affection, in suppressing the avowal of his regret; and when the little girl was only three months old, he occupied himself in forming the establishment of her separate household. By this arrangement Anne was divided from her child, but she reigned in her husband's heart; and it seemed almost an article of national faith to believe in the permanence of their mutual love and concord. The artist and the sculptor were employed to commemorate the circumstances of their romantic union; and wherever the cyphers of the King and Anne Boleyn were presented, a true-love's-knot was added, in allusion to the tender sentiments which had drawn them to each other. A curious sculpture at Cambridge, of which the object was to eternize the memory of the monarch's fondness, still remains to offer an illustration of the mutability of

human passions, more solemn, more impressive, than all that the poet could invent or the moralist teach. \*

\* At King's College, Cambridge, the choir is separated from the anti-chapel by a screen, added in 1534, in which are the initial cyphers of Henry and Anne Boleyn, interlaced with a true-love's-knot. In one of the pannels are displayed the arms of Boleyn, impaled with the arms of England. It is well known that the custom of interlacing the cyphers of friends or lovers, was usual in France. Much of this gallantry passed between Francis and his mistress, the Duchess of Hurepoix. At the extremity of the Rue Gillecour, at the corner which it now forms with the Rue Hurepoix, Francis the First erected a small palace, communicating with an hotel that formerly belonged to the Duchess D'Estampes, in the Rue Hirondelle. The fresco painting, the pictures, the tapestry, the salamander, the well-known device of Francis, with various tender emblems and gallant devices, seemed to consecrate this elegant little mansion to love and pleasure. Of these symbols, one of the most remarkable was, a heart in flames, suspended between an alpha and an omega, to denote eternal constancy. The bathing-house of the duchess was converted to the stable of an inn, called the Salamander. The apartment of Francis was metamorphosed into a kitchen, and his lady's boudoir was in the occupation of a poor laundress.—St. Feix's *Essays on Paris*.

But it belongs not to the greatest potentate to confer felicity. Even in this fairest season of prosperity, Anne had a constant source of chagrin, in the consciousness that her marriage, though acknowledged in France, and some parts of Germany, was disallowed in the other countries of Europe.

From a circumstance, in itself sufficiently trivial, she had the mortification to discover, that the sympathy which Catharine had inspired, was not extinct, and that, in her name, the most contemptible agents possessed the means of inflaming the people. The cause of this new chagrin, was the nun of Bocking, an ignorant country girl, who, under the tuition of certain fanatics, assumed the character of a prophetess, and boldly denounced the King's death if he persisted in excluding Catharine for Anne Boleyn. The imposture was easily detected ; but several persons of distinction were involved in her delinquency, and, among others, Sir Thomas More incurred the sus-

picion of having encouraged the nun's delusions. The charge was by him disclaimed, but partially proved against Bishop Fisher ; who was not only fined and imprisoned, but treated with the most inhuman severity. Many of the offenders were executed, and the remainder were only spared at the intercession of Anne Boleyn : by this humane interference, she might justly hope to increase her popularity with all parties, when another subject arose for persecution in the Act of Succession, establishing the King's supremacy, by which Henry's marriage with Catharine was declared unlawful, and the crown settled exclusively on the issue of his beloved wife, Anne.

To this law, all the King's subjects, who should have attained the age of sixteen, were required to swear allegiance. Amongst the few who openly resisted, were Fisher and More : the former accelerated his fate by consenting to accept from the Pope a cardinal's hat, in defiance of the King's pro-

hibition of correspondence with the court of Rome.\* Great offence was given by the execution of this venerable prelate, for his conscientious repugnance to a statute, by which he was required, in direct violation of his principles, to declare the King's former marriage unlawful. The fate of More excited deep and lasting regret. Unhappily this virtuous, but prejudiced, man conceived he should compromise his religious principles, by taking an oath, which, according to the letter of the statute, impugned the legality of the King's former marriage : he offered to swear allegiance to the King's issue by Queen Anne, but rejected the clause which, by invalidating his prior engagements, negatived the authority which he believed to reside in the Supreme Pontiff. It was in vain that Cromwel besought him to reconsider the case, and

\* Henry swore, that though the Pope should send the bishop a hat, he would take care he should have no head to wear it.

rescind the sentence : even Henry sought a pretext for saving his life, without infringing the legal authorities. Anne Boleyn must still more passionately have desired to avert a sacrifice, of which she alone would bear the odium ; but More persisted, and blending the resignation of the saint with the magnanimity of the hero, appeared rather to welcome than to deprecate his fate. The purity of his principles has consecrated his name to posterity, and the errors of the persecutor are forgotten in the virtues of the martyr.

Nothing could be more unpropitious to Anne's interests than these sanguinary measures ; and she observed, with alarm, the fluctuations of Henry's wayward mind, who, although he had assumed to himself the rights of supremacy ; though he engrossed the tributes formerly offered to the Pope ; though he had even prohibited all appeals to Rome, and all submission to the Roman Pontiff ; yet, with that inconsist-

ency peculiar to his character, he still revolted from the disciples of Luther, and still piqued himself on upholding, with the Catholic faith, many of the grossest errors and superstitions engrafted on its principles. But necessity at length compelled him to listen to the overtures of the German princess who formed the league of Smalcalde. Clement the Seventh was dead, and his successor, Paul the Third, was likely to become a more formidable opponent. At the Pontiff's denunciations against himself and his realm, Henry might smile with contempt; but from his union with the Emperor he had serious cause to fear, since he could place little confidence in the alliance of Francis, and had no resources but to coalesce with some other European potentate. The German protestants, with more reason alarmed by the Emperor's hostility, not only solicited his assistance, but offered to declare him the chief and protector of their confederacy.

Their importunities, seconded by the arguments of Cranmer and Cromwel, were enforced by Anne's more persuasive eloquence. Henry was not really averse to a proposal so flattering to his political pretensions; nor was he, perhaps, aware, that to Anne's character, and to the esteem and enthusiasm it inspired, he chiefly owed this proof of confidence. It was well known, that she pronounced that day lost in which she had not been permitted to render to a protestant some service. Her actions justified her professions\*, and she repeatedly called on Cromwel to indemnify the merchants who had sustained any injury in person or fortune by promoting the importation of Bibles, or other tracts devoted to the popular cause. In England such conduct might be referred to interest, or to human-

\* See in Burnet and Strype, her letter to Cromwel to redress the wrongs of a protestant merchant, who had been persecuted for his zeal in promoting the circulation of the Bible.



ity ; but in protestant Germany, where all were inflamed with the zeal and enthusiasm that characterise a new and rapidly increasing sect, the Queen's liberality was proudly attributed to the triumph of Lutheran principles. Unfortunately the alliance with England, for which, in reality, nothing was necessary but the recognition of the same political interests, was supposed to require a perfect sympathy in religious opinions. Drs. Fox and Hethe were sent to Germany on a mission to the Lutheran divines, with whom many conferences took place, of which the conclusion was little satisfactory to the pride or prejudices of Henry, since even Anne's popularity could not entice them to acknowledge the legality of his divorce, and neither arguments nor promises atoned for his rejection of the confession of Augsburg. It is, however, more than probable, these difficulties might have been obviated in a subsequent negotiation, but for the influence of Gardiner,

who was, at the same time, employed in an embassy to France, which afforded him facilities for counteracting the united efforts of Hethe and Melancthon, and rendering the whole plan abortive. The unprosperous issue of the negociation was a severe disappointment to Anne, already mortified by the heavy punishments inflicted on certain religious fraternities, which refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy. She appears not to have participated in Henry's aversion for conventual establishments; she at least revolted from the harsh and illiberal means employed in their suppression, and humanely engaged the intrepid Latimer to enforce, in a sermon preached before the King, the impiety of seizing, for his own use, the treasury which he had discovered in the monasteries.\* Henry had long stigmatised the monks as the drones of the church,

\* See Collier's Ecclesiastical History.

whom the better order of priests despised, and the laity abhorred. To demonstrate the absurdity and illiberality of indiscriminate censures against any particular order of men, we have but to turn to Luther, who belonged to a community of mendicant friars; and if we would seek examples worthy of the purest ages of Christian heroism, they might be found in the Prior of the Charter-house, and his companions \*, the origin of whose sufferings is forgotten in the magnanimity with which they were supported. La Valette and his Knights of Malta expressed not more sublime sentiments than these single-minded men; pre-

\* To Houghton, who was venerated by the people, a pardon was offered at the moment that he was approaching the scaffold, if he would acknowledge the King's supremacy: he replied, "I call the Omnipotent God to witness, that it is not out of obstinate malice I disobey the King, but only for the fear of God, that I offend not the Supreme Majesty of heaven."

ferring death to the least infringement of their voluntary engagement — in whom enthusiasm was not kindled by the breath of fame, and whose fidelity asked no recompense from the meed of glory.

Amidst other cares and chagrins incident to her situation, Anne was not exempted from the jealousies of ambition; and she sometimes admitted the apprehension, that if the King coalesced not with the protestant princes, he might ultimately reconcile himself to the papal see; an event she could not contemplate without the most serious alarm for her own personal interests; but to these unpromising anticipations was opposed a circumstance calculated to inspire the most favourable presage. In the third year of her marriage, she was again permitted to flatter herself that she was destined to present to Henry the long-desired blessing of a son.

Although, from his critical position with Charles and Francis, such an auspicious

hope was more than ever necessary to appease the King's solicitude to transmit an undisputed succession; he no longer lavished on his consort those tender attentions she had been accustomed to expect, and to which she was now more than ever entitled. Many circumstances might have gradually conspired to this change, although it had hitherto escaped observation. Since the period of her marriage, Anne's situation had been essentially altered; her mind expanded, her character developed; instead of being merely the private gentlewoman, whose highest ambition was to attract or please, she was become the partner of the throne, the generous queen, who aspired to be a true and affectionate mother of the people.

The enthusiasm she delighted to inspire was far from pleasing to Henry, now that the fervour of passion had subsided, and that he no longer required talents or courage, but unwearied adulation and uncon-

ditional obedience. To a jealous egotist her best qualities had, perhaps, the effect of diminishing her attractions ; by the zeal with which she carried into effect her plans of reformation, she must have offended one accustomed to consider himself as the sole and exclusive object of attention. It was, perhaps, fatal to her safety, that, in the first transports of affection, Henry had admitted her to a full participation of all the honour and sovereignty formerly conceded to Catharine, and that he not only caused her to be proclaimed Queen Consort of England, but Lady of Ireland. When love declined, it might be suggested that he had sacrificed dignity, and even hazarded security, by this prodigal dispensation. Another unfortunate circumstance was his growing indifference to her father and brother, and his prepossession for the Duke of Norfolk and his sinister counsels. More fatal was the presence of Lady Rochford ; who, repining at her ex-

clusion from the confidential conversation of her husband and his sister, conceived against both a diabolical hatred, the most atrocious that ever polluted a female bosom. All these causes combined, might, however, have been inadequate to produce the desired end, but for another agent, who soon gave a fatal impulse to Henry's imperious passions.

The precise period of Jane Seymour's introduction to court is not known ; but it is intimated by Anne's biographer (Wiatt), that she was thrown in the King's way for the express purpose of stealing his affections from his once idolized Queen. This young lady was the daughter of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wilts\* ; her two

\* Sir John Seymour was descended from that William de Saint Mauro, (afterwards contracted to Seimour,) who, by the aid of Gilbert, Earl Marshal of Pembroke, recovered Wendy, in Monmouthshire, from the Welsh, in 1240, (Henry the Third.) William was of Norman extraction, and progenitor of that Seimour who married one of the daughters of Beau-

brothers were Esquires of the King's person ; ambitious men, eager in the pursuit of fortune, and willing to derive every possible advantage from their sister's beauty. That Jane was eminently distinguished by her personal attractions, must be admitted, since we hear of no other fascination that she possessed. Without the talents, the graces, the sensibilities, which gave to Anne such inexhaustible variety of charms, Jane possessed, however, that first bloom of youth which, now that Henry had lost his youthful susceptibility of imagination, and perhaps

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champ of Hack, a rich baron, who traced his pedigree, in the maternal line, to Sybil, a daughter of the great Earl of Pembroke. The patrimony of the Seimours was augmented by marriage with the heiress of Wolf Hall, one of the Esturmies of Wilts; and they were hereditary guardians of the Forest of Saernbroke, near Marlborough; in memory of which, a hunter's horn, tipped with silver, was worn by the Earls of Hereford.



original delicacy of taste, was powerfully alluring.

It is probable that the inferiority of Jane's mental attainments had also contributed to turn the balance in her favour. But whatever might be her powers of captivation, there is too much reason to believe that she had a ready auxiliary in the Duke of Norfolk, who detested his niece, and execrated the reforming party. At first, the King's attentions to Jane Seymour were clandestine. Anne so little anticipated the impending evil, that her anxiety, singularly misplaced, was directed towards Catharine, who, if she survived the King, would, she feared, be at the head of a party sufficiently formidable to annul the Act of Succession, with whatever rights or dignities it had conferred on herself and the Princess Elizabeth. From these apprehensions she was suddenly relieved by the news of Catharine's death\*, when she un-

\* Catharine died at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire.

guardedly exclaimed, "Now I am indeed a queen." On that occasion, Anne, usually compassionate, showed less tenderness than the selfish Henry ; and the few tears which he shed over Catharine's letter, might have taught her she no longer possessed his heart.

Under the influence of a new passion, and detesting the ties which severed him from Jane Seymour, Henry might justly lament the sacrifices he had made to obtain an object he no longer valued, not perhaps without internally reverting to that season of youth, when he had pledged his faith to a royal bride. Reflections such as these, could not but produce in his mind a temporary sadness, soon succeeded by eager solicitude to transfer to himself whatever property had been possessed by his divorced wife. \* A few days after this event,

\* In her will, Catharine surrendered every thing to the King, whom she persisted in addressing as her most dear husband, without naming any executor,

Anne, who had at length, perhaps, received some intimation of her lord's inconstancy, fatally for herself, surprised Jane Seymour listening with complacency to his protestations of regard, and submitting, without reluctance, to his tender caresses. \*

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saying, "she had nothing to give." On this occasion, Riche, afterwards Lord Chancellor, advised the King, on the grounds of some legal informality, to declare her will void, and, instead of seizing her goods, to apply to the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese she had been at the time of death, to grant an administration of her goods to such persons as his Highness should appoint; and by this means Henry obtained possession of the property, no part of which was appropriated in the manner the queen had requested.

\* Sanders. — Heylin.

It is difficult to conceive on what principles of morality Jane Seymour has been extolled for her superlative modesty and virtue. It does not appear, that Henry ever offered to her dishonourable proposals, but she certainly scrupled not to encourage his clandestine addresses, and to walk over Anne's corse to the throne. It may, perhaps, be said, that she was merely the agent of her brothers' ambition; even this cannot excuse the coarse apathy with which she

At the first glance, Anne stood transfixed with amazement ; but, in an instant, she comprehended that her prosperity was departed : nature sunk under the conflict of contending emotions, and she was prematurely delivered of a dead son. For some time her recovery was doubtful : life at length prevailed, and she received a visit from her royal husband ; not to commiserate her sorrows, but upbraidingly to proclaim his own irreparable disappointment. Agonised by this brutal reproach, and the bitter recollections it awakened, the unhappy Queen rashly reminded him, that the calamity had been caused by his unkindness.

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submitted to become Henry's wife, on the very day when he had destroyed her rival. Both Catholics and Protestants have extolled this lady ; the former from malevolence to her predecessor, the latter from complaisance to her son. The Princess Mary, who alone from filial feelings had cause to hate Anne Boleyn, might be pardoned for this invidious partiality.

These words sealed her fate. Unused to reproof, Henry muttered a fatal prediction, too soon verified\*, and left her to anticipate and to deplore the consequences of one impetuous moment. After Catharine's

\* This account is corroborated by Sanders, Heylin, and other writers, and the circumstance is pointedly alluded to in Anne's letter to the King.—“ It was reported,” says Wiatt, “ that the Kinge came to her, and bewailinge and complaininge to her of the los of his boy, some words were heard breake out of the inward feelinge of her hart's dolours, lainge the falt upon unkindnes, which the Kinge more than was cause (her case at this time considered) tooke more hardly then otherwise he would, if he had not bin somewhat too much overcome with griefe, or not so much alienat. Wise men in those daies judged that her virtue was here her default, and that if her to much love could, as wel as the other Queene, have borne with his defect of love, she might have falen into les danger, and in the end have tied him the more ever after to her, when he had seene his errour, and that she might the rather have doone respectinge the general libertie and custome of feelinge then that way. Certainly from hensfourth the harme still more increased, and he was then heard to say to her, he would have no more boise by her.”

death, Henry had but to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, and to rescind his late acts, to annul his marriage with Anne, and secure the privilege of elevating his favourite to the throne ; but whilst his obstinacy refused concessions to the Pope, his avarice equally opposed the restitution which he should have had to offer to the English clergy ; and pride forbade him to re-establish those ecclesiastical abuses for which he had loudly proclaimed hostility and contempt.

Under such circumstances, to repudiate Anne would be discreditable, and having resolved to criminate her conduct, he easily discovered an offence, for which, in his eyes, she deserved to die ; that if she survived, she might interfere with the claims of his posterity by Jane Seymour.

At this period, Henry was himself in a precarious state of health ; a circumstance that, far from softening, inflamed the ferocity of his nature. His despotic will had

long extended beyond the grave, and he desired, and even demanded to legislate for posterity; adopting the convenient maxim, that the means were sanctified by the end; he again descended to the meanness formerly employed with Catharine, that of planting spies around his once beloved Queen, and thus stimulated or invited the malicious communications of Lady Rochford, who, without encouragement, could not have ventured to obtrude her real or pretended jealousies on his attention.

To destroy the envied Anne Boleyn, this abandoned woman scrupled not to accuse her husband of participation in a crime abhorrent to nature, and of which it argues depravity even to admit the belief. Henry perhaps considered as treasonable the frequent interviews of the brother and sister, which, whether they referred to Jane Seymour, or the progress of reformation, equally militated against his august supremacy.

To secure the agency of Lady Rochford, though important, was not decisive ; since her testimony might be rebutted by that of other ladies of unblemished fame, who, with better opportunities for observing their mistress, had not the same motives to traduce her conduct. The constraint imposed by custom on a Queen Consort, rendered it morally impossible \*, that she should wrong her lord, without the knowledge and connivance of subordinate agents. Entrammelled by ordonnances of state, all her movements were watched, and in a manner registered by the satellites of her person, who intruded on the hours of privacy, and, without presuming to oppose her will, continually encroached on her liberty. In reality, the Queen's conduct appears to have furnished no plausible grounds for attaint-

\* This was so notorious, that, on the detection of Catharine Howard's guilt, Lady Rochford was convicted of treason, on the ground of having been accessory to the intrigue.



ing her reputation. That after her elevation, she should have tempered dignity with affability, was rather for praise than censure. She delighted to diffuse cheerfulness, and still more to dispense beneficence. Within the last nine months, she had expended the sum of fifteen thousand pounds on charities and other public and useful institutions. The enthusiasm of party might have kindled her zeal for Protestantism ; but it must have been the sympathies of a generous and amiable nature that prompted the munificence perpetually flowing in benefits to the people. During her long ante-nuptial probation, she must have learnt to dismiss coquetry from her attractions. The woman who had chosen Latimer and Shaxton (afterwards bishop of Sarum) to be her chaplains, who sought to effect a reformation in the manners of her court, and gloried in the reputation she had acquired by Lutheranism, such a woman was, of all others, the least likely to have risked her

safety for the gallant attentions of the most accomplished courtier. As a proof of her prudence in this respect, it may be observed, that neither Wiatt, whom she really admired, nor the Earl of Northumberland, by whom she had been passionately beloved, were implicated in the suspicion; and for this obvious reason, that the general propriety of her conduct must have deprived such a charge of all colourable probability. The pretended paramours were only to be found in men to whom she was peculiarly accessible, — her personal attendants, or a justly beloved brother. Among the most fatal of her indiscretions, was the intimacy which she cultivated with many individuals of her own sex, and the facility with which she yielded her unreserved confidence to female flatterers, ever ready to ascribe the homage of the younger courtiers to tender or romantic sentiments.

Another circumstance prejudicial to her safety, was the precarious state of the King's health.

That a queen-dowager should intermarry with a nobleman or private gentleman, was no unfrequent occurrence, as the King's two sisters had evinced by their example : it was, therefore, not unlikely that the more brilliant courtiers might speculate on such a probable contingency. For Henry, it was enough that such motives could be imputed to them by the idle gossips of the court ; and on this slight and vague surmise, was built one of his most important accusations.

Amongst the acknowledged favorites of the royal household were two gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Norris and Weston, who had long been admitted to the King's confidential intimacy, and who were of the select number at all hours admitted to his privy chamber. To these gentlemen, Anne originally, perhaps from deference to her

lord's pleasure, had shown particular courtesy, and till the period of his estrangement he was pleased that she should so distinguish the objects of his preference. When Henry neglected his wife's society, these gentlemen had too much real delicacy of sentiment to withdraw the homage they had been accustomed to offer to their Queen; but their motives could not be appreciated in a court, where honour was so little understood. It was whispered that Norris aspired to the future possession of his fair mistress, and some idle or malicious calumniators had the effrontery to maintain that he was already her favored lover; nor was it only of her enemies that Anne received injuries. By the interference of judicious friends, she was apprised of the scandal industriously circulated against her; and conceiving that such rumours must be injurious to the hopes she still entertained of regaining the King's affections, she determined to make an ef-

fort to induce Norris to confute the tale, by marrying a lady, to whom it was supposed he had been long engaged. Relying on his friendship and honor, she asked him why he did not proceed with his projected marriage : he confessed he had relinquished the engagement. Mortified at her disappointment, Anne abruptly announced the injury she sustained by the suspicions affixed to his conduct : he replied by disclaiming all selfish motives with the indignant feelings of a man of honor. That, however, he was not alienated from her interests, appears by the promptitude with which, in obedience to her mandate, he went to her almoner to protest his firm and immutable faith in the Queen's virtue. Some part of this conversation had been overheard ; and one of Anne's expressions, ("if ought but good should happen to the King, ye would think to have me,") was afterwards made, by a strained construction, to convict her of having imagined

and conspired the King's death. In Weston she appears not to have reposed equal confidence: although a married man, he allowed himself, according to the manners of the day, to address, as a lover, a young lady, (Mrs. Skelton,) who happened to be one of the Queen's relations. Whether Anne was prompted by sympathy for the neglected wife, or whether she hoped to produce a reformation in her courtiers, she ventured to offer an expostulation which was little relished. Weston interrupted her admonitions with a declaration of gallantry, by which her pride, if not her delicacy, was offended, and they parted with mutual displeasure.

No situation could be more painful than that of the woman so lately the object of envy and adoration. During three months she assiduously endeavoured to regain the King's affections, by cheerful submission and obsequious silence; but the perturbation of her feelings perpetually

impelled her to require information of his movements. She learned with dismay that his clandestine meetings with Jane Seymour continued ; and whether she were wooed as a mistress, or wife, from her knowledge of Henry's character, she discovered a mystery in his conduct that justified the most ominous forebodings. The agitation of her mind robbed her of repose ; and even in her dreams she is said to have been haunted by images of calamity and death. \* In the court of the despotic Henry, his suspected hostility was alone sufficient to raise against the unfortunate Anne a host of real foes. By the Catholics she was conscientiously detested, as the fatal cause of schism with the Romish church. The old politicians, recollecting the tragical fate of Edward the Fifth, deprecated the evils of a disputed succession ; even the Protestants, to whom she was endeared as a friend and protectress, possessed too little power to brave the King's displeasure.

\* See Fox.

Thus, political calculations conspired with personal interests to accelerate the fall of Anne Boleyn. Under any circumstances she would have been subjected to calumnious misrepresentations; but at no other moment would Henry have allowed them to be circulated with impunity. In the present instance, he eagerly availed himself of a frivolous slander to institute a private inquisition on the Queen's conduct, but with an inflexible resolution to pronounce her guilty.\*

That the King had preconcerted his plan, and already decided her fate, is evi-

\* If we may believe Meteren, the slander to which the King's suspicions were ostensibly attributed, originated in the flippant answer of a Frenchwoman to a reproving brother, "that the Queen allowed gentlemen at all hours to enter her chamber." On the strength of this report, Henry required Weston, Norris, and Brereton, to furnish proofs; but they denied the fact; nor was any other evidence obtained than that of Lady Rochford, to criminate the Queen. On one occasion only, it appeared that her brother, George Boleyn, had been seen to whisper in her ear before she had risen from her bed.



dent by his having even in April convoked the parliament which was to exonerate him from the consequences of his now detested union, and abrogate the late act of succession in favor of his dearly beloved Anne and her posterity. In thus prejudging her cause, he inadvertently furnished a strong presumption of her innocence.

On May-day, according to ancient usage, a tournament was held at Greenwich, at which Anne, for the last hour of triumph, attired with royal magnificence, was as usual the supreme object of attraction. Lord Rochford was the challenger, and Norris the defendant. The King had for some time looked on with complacency; when he suddenly quitted the balcony with a countenance of stern displeasure.\* Alarmed

\* It has been pretended by Sanders that Henry's jealousy was excited by seeing Norris wipe his face with a handkerchief the Queen had dropt from her balcony; but this circumstance is neither mentioned in our old chroniclers, nor alluded to by Wiatt, her more minute biographer. The information of San-

by his deportment, Anne no longer attended to the mock-combat, but took the earliest opportunity to withdraw from the balcony. That night she passed in anxious suspense ; nothing transpired till the morning, when Weston, Norris, and two other gentlemen, were arrested and committed to the Tower. That Henry really entertained suspicions of Weston and Norris, is to the last degree improbable, since he is said to have expressed repugnance to the commitment of the former gentleman ; a sentiment of which, had he not known the charges to be false, his vindictive spirit was wholly incapable. Accustomed to modify his opinions by his passions, he might easily persuade himself that Weston and Norris were

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ders alone is scarcely admissible ; and Lord Herbert, in quoting him, evidently distrusts the authority ; besides, Anne's fate was already decreed ; writs had some days before been issued for the parliament which was to abrogate every preceding act passed in her favor.

in possession of such circumstances as might substantially confirm the accusation; and he, therefore, eagerly offered them indemnity, on condition that they should become the Queen's accusers. Baffled in his purpose, he no longer hesitated what course to take, and they were doomed to perish the victims of his policy, or, it might be, of his pride and vengeance.

During some hours after their arrest Anne remained in ignorance of their common calamity; but when, at the accustomed hour, she sat down to dinner, she observed an unusual expression of seriousness in her ladies, neither of whom chose to be the harbinger of misfortune. Scarcely was the surnap removed, ere the Duke of Norfolk, and other Lords of the council, with Sir Thomas Audley, entered her apartment. The Duke approached not with his accustomed courtesy; Sir Thomas Audley followed with visible reluctance; but the sudden apparition of

Kingston, the Governor of the Tower, at once revealed her fate ; and shrieking with horror, she demanded the reason of their coming. She was briefly answered by her uncle, — “ It is His Majesty’s pleasure that you should depart to the Tower.” — “ If it be His Majesty’s pleasure,” replied Anne, regaining her self-possession, “ I am ready to obey ;” and without waiting even to change her dress, she intrepidly committed herself to their custody. She was no sooner seated in the barge, than the Duke of Norfolk entered on the examination, by pretending that the guilty paramours had already substantiated the charges against her. She replied but by protestations of innocence ; demanding with vehemence to be permitted to see the King, and to offer her personal vindication. To all her asseverations, the Duke of Norfolk replied but by shaking his head with an expression of incredulous contempt ; the other peers were not more respectful. Sir

Thomas Audley alone disdained the unmanly baseness, and by every delicate attention endeavoured to soften the anguish of a desolate woman. Never, perhaps, was there a situation more calculated to call forth pity, than that of the deserted being who was yesterday a Queen, and to-day a culprit : three years had scarcely passed, since she left the same palace to be invested with the insignia of royalty, — to be hailed and idolised as the most fortunate of women. Two hundred boats had then followed in her train, to share the falcon's triumph. She was now conveyed to the Tower in a solitary barge, without friends or protectors. She approached not under the auspices of the mayor and his loyal companions ; no discharge of artillery announced her presence ; nor was she welcomed by the burst of sympathy, or the triumphant sound of popular acclamation. Of all the honors conferred at her coronation, nothing re-

mained but the empty title of Queen, and an awful pre-eminence of misery.

Before she quitted the barge, she fell on her knees, solemnly invoking God to attest her innocence. Then once more besought the Duke to persuade the King to listen to her vindication. To this entreaty her unfeeling kinsman vouchsafed no answer, but left her to the care of Kingston\*, the

\* The following anecdote sufficiently illustrates Kingston's character.—“ One Bowyer, mayor of Bodmin, in Cornwall, had been amongst the rebels, not willingly, but enforced : to him the Provost Kingston sent word he would come and dine with him, for whom the mayor made great provision. A little before dinner, the Provost took the mayor aside, and whispered in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the town, and therefore he must set up two gallows : the mayor did so. After dinner Sir William Kingston thanked him for his entertainment, and then desired him to bring him to the gallows. He then asked whether they were strong enough ? ‘ I warrant thee,’ said the mayor ; ‘ Then,’ rejoined Sir William, ‘ get you upon them.’—‘ I!’ said the mayor, ‘ you mean not as you speak.’—‘ Nay, Sir, you must die, for you have been a busy rebel.’”

Governor of the Tower, with whose inauspicious name were associated terror and despair. With his assistance Anne once more ascended those stairs she had lately passed in triumph, when the King himself stood ready to receive her, with all the ardor of impassioned love. Kingston was now her only conductor, and of him she enquired whither she was to be conveyed, and whether he meant to lodge her in a dungeon?—"No, Madam," he replied; "but to the same lodging that you had before, at your coronation." In an instant, Anne felt the gulf into which she was precipitated; and giving herself up for lost, passionately exclaimed, "It is too good for me;" as an unfortunate peer, under the influence of similar feelings, had, a few years before, declined the honors still offered to his rank, which, he said, belonged not to the wretched caitiff who had ceased to be Buckingham. In like manner, Anne shed a torrent of

tears, too plainly perceiving that she had ceased to be the idolised Queen of Henry the Eighth; and was now but the poor persecuted Anne Boleyn. At length recovering from this extreme dejection, she enquired of Kingston, when he had seen her father? then eagerly exclaimed, "Oh! where is my sweet brother?" Not willing to confess that he was already committed to the same prison, Kingston evaded this question. And Anne, collecting her spirits, resumed; — "Mr. Kingston, I hear I shall be accused by three men; yet, though they should open my body," (and she, emphatically, opened her robe,) "I could say but nay, nay." Then, mentally reverting to her late conversation with Norris, she cried, "And hast thou, too, Norris, accused me? and we shall die together!" At this moment, the recollection of the proud Countess of Wiltshire rushed to her mind, and she loudly exclaimed, "Oh! my mother, thou wilt die with sorrow." She then de-



plored the illness of Lady Worcester, whom she had left at the palace overwhelmed with grief, pathetically adding, "*It is all for the cause of me!*" Her next question to Kingston was, whether she should have justice? "Yes, Madam; the poorest subject has justice." To this assurance, she replied but by a convulsive laugh; impressed perhaps with the conviction that she was in reality more unfriended than the poorest subject. When she again spoke, it was to intreat that she might receive the sacrament in a closet adjoining her chamber. The storm of conflicting passions now subsided; and having anchored her hopes on another world, she appeared comparatively serene and cheerful. It should be remembered as an important fact, that even when impressed with the belief that Weston and Norris had really conspired against her, she persisted in asserting her innocence. The day after her commitment, she pressed Kingston to convey for her a letter to

Cromwel ; but although he excused himself from performing this office, he readily offered to repeat to the secretary whatever the Queen should be pleased to communicate. Anne thanked him for the civility, but declined accepting it. She had soon occasion to detect the ungenerous spirit of Henry, in the ladies selected to be her companions in prison, of whom she once remarked, with her wonted frankness, that she thought it very unkind of the King to plant around her those she so little loved. For this procedure, there was, however, an obvious reason ; since it was hoped, by their agency, to draw from her some acknowledgement which might hereafter be wrested to her prejudice. Anne, as might naturally be expected, fell into the snare, by repeating the conversations she had lately held with Norris and Weston. She detailed in what manner she had besought the former to vindicate her fame, and by what means she had incurred the

displeasure of the latter. Of Mark Smeton\*, the musician, she appeared to know nothing; and protested that he had never but once been admitted within her apartments, when he had been summoned to play on the virginals. During some of these explanations, her aunt Lady Edward Boleyn observed, with more truth than tenderness, "Had you never listened to such tale-bearers, you had never been in this situation." There were moments when Anne seemed to feel it impossible that the King should really single out for destruction the wife he had so lately loved; and she once said, with a smile, she thought he did it but to prove her. At her second examination before the Duke of Norfolk, she received new indignities, of which she loudly complained, protesting, that by Cromwel alone she had been treated

\* Of this miscreant, nothing has been recorded, but that he was low-born, and a musician. There can be little doubt that he was suborned by Anne's enemies, to promote her ruin.

with decency: even by him, though evidently convinced of her innocence, she was unwillingly abandoned to the King's vengeance. Cranmer alone made a feeble and abortive effort in her favor. At length Henry sent a message, enforced by a visit from Lady Rochford, requiring her, by prompt and ample confession, to atone for her criminal conduct. By this last cruel and deliberate insult, her eyes were opened to her true situation: and no longer doubting of her fate, she appears not to have even cherished a wish to preserve her existence. This sentiment she expressed with much dignity, in her last message to the King, when, after having thanked him for his signal bounties, she added, "From a private gentlewoman, he raised me to a marchioness, from a marchioness to a queen; and now, that he can no farther advance me in this world, he is about to make me a saint in Heaven." It was after this severe trial, that Anne wrote or dictated

the following letter, addressed to the King, but which was never destined to meet his eye. \*

\* The authenticity of this letter, afterwards found among Cromwel's papers, has been repeatedly called in question; but, whether it were written by Anne Boleyn, or an abler pen, it seems undeniable, that it was composed under her direction, and that it contains a genuine transcript of her sentiments and feelings. The allusions to her peculiar situation are such as could scarcely have been introduced by any indifferent person. During her imprisonment Anne was visited by the sister of Wiatt, her beloved Mrs. Margaret Lee. It is not improbable that the outline of this letter received its polish from Wiatt's elegant pen; and it is worthy of remark, that although he was not suspected of being her paramour, he was, after her death, committed to the Tower for having been her friend. Loyd says, "he got into trouble about the affair of Queen Anne; her favor raised him, and her friendship nearly ruined him." In Wiatt's *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, allusion is made to this circumstance; but his disgrace was temporary. Henry knew his worth, and with him had no motive to be vindictive. Of those who insist that the letter was not written by Anne Boleyn, it is fair to enquire, by whom, and for what purpose it could have been fabricated? Surely, not by Cromwel. With regard to Wiatt, it is worthy of remark, that

*Queen Anne Boleyn's last letter to King  
Henry.*

SIR,

“Your Grace’s displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favor,) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy \*; I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command. But let not Your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife

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two years after Anne’s death, he was charged by Bonner with having said that “Henry deserved to be thrown into the sea.” Wiatt repelled the accusation; but it was probably grounded on the indignation he had really expressed at the sacrifice of Anne Boleyn.

\* Probably the Duke of Norfolk.

will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than Your Grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honor, good Your Grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favor from me;

neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter : try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges ; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame ; then shall you see either my innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, Your Grace may be freed from an open censure ; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, Your Grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto : Your Grace being not



ignorant of my suspicion therein. \* But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me,) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of Your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who, (as I understand,) are likewise in straight imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favor in your sight; if ever the

\* This passage confirms the account given in Wiatt.

name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble Your Grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have Your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.

Your most loyal and  
ever faithful wife,

ANNE BOLEYN."

On her first commitment to the Tower, Anne betrayed strong alternations of feeling: sometimes fancied she should regain the King's heart, and that he merely tried her faith; sometimes, with passionate vehemence, desired that her Bishops should intercede in her favor: and there were moments when she even seemed to expect that Heaven, by a supernatural interposition, should avouch her innocence. After her second examination, these transports

subsided, and, on receiving the King's last message, every earthly hope, almost every earthly feeling, seemed extinguished: and, by the effort of despair, she rose above the frailties, almost beyond the sufferings of humanity. It is not known who were her legal advisers; but she was allowed no advocate, and debarred from all intercourse with her parents. At this privation, however, she appears not to have repined, either because she dared not expose her firmness to the trial of meeting an afflicted mother, and, perhaps, self-accusing father, or because she dreaded lest they should be involved in her fate. For some days preceding her trial, she preserved cheerfulness and composure; with much animation, persisting in her innocence. In the meantime, unremitting efforts were made by the King's agents to extort further evidence; and it is even upon record, that the solitary confession of Smeton was not deemed sufficient

to clear the King's honour\* ; but it was in vain that bribes or menaces were employed for the subornation of Anne's women : even those by whom she was least loved, had nothing to allege against her ; the perjuries of Lady Rochford had furnished no substantial evidence ; and all that malice and treachery could effect, was but to elicit something of a treasonable construction from the Queen's conversation with Norris, in which she had spoken of the King's probable dissolution. The fate of the other culprits had been already decided at Westminster. †

\* Sir William Baynton writes to Sir William Fitzwilliams : — " This shall be to advertise you, that here is much communication, that no man will confess any thing, but only Mark, of any actual thing : wherefore, in my foolish conceit, it should much touch the King's honor if it should no further appear." Burnet.

† Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton. Of the two last, nothing is known, but that they were tried and condemned. Against Norris, Weston, and Brereton, no other evidence was produced than the perjury of Smeton.

At length, on the memorable 15th of May, a judicial court was erected in the King's Hall\*, within the Tower, for the trial of the Queen and her brother. At this tribunal presided the Duke of Norfolk; on his right hand sat the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk on his left; before him the Earl of Surrey, as Earl-marshal of England: to these were joined the Duke of Richmond and twenty-four other peers, among whom was the Earl of Northumberland, the juvenile lover of Anne Boleyn.† At the appointed hour came the Queen, divested of royal state, neatly and plainly attired; with no other attendants than Lady Kingston and Lady Edward Boleyn; being placed in a chair, she bowed respectfully to the assembly, who were irresistibly

\* This apartment was still in existence till the year 1778.

† It should be remarked that this number included but half the peerage of England; an additional proof, if any were wanting, that the jury was composed of such as should not venture to thwart the King's pleasure.

won by her modest countenance and dignified deportment. Among the strangers admitted to this court were the Lord Mayor, certain distinguished citizens, (doubtless those devoted to the King's pleasure,) and some few gentry.

For the first time in the annals of English history, a queen was dragged before a criminal tribunal. Even Henry the Eighth might, perhaps, have scrupled so to degrade a lady of royal birth or princely connections; but he was conscious that Anne had neither friends nor protectors, and was wholly left to his mercy or his vengeance. The indictment being read, the Queen held up her hand, and pleaded not guilty. The charge was then opened, and accusations too monstrous to be detailed, and too contradictory to be credited, were unblushingly rehearsed before the astonished audience. In the first instance, something was attempted to be proved from the pretended confession of a certain Lady Wingfield, who had, it was alleged,

on her death-bed disclosed disgraceful circumstances of the Queen's life, but this posthumous forgery, evidently intended to introduce the other accusation, was unsupported by the least evidence. To disguise the weakness of the cause, an elaborate charge was exhibited against her, but the five confederates in guilt annihilate the belief that even one paramour existed ; and it is obvious that three of those five gentlemen were committed, not so much to establish the Queen's guilt, as to preclude them from vindicating her innocence. To the revolting calumnies proclaimed against her, Anne listened with dignity ; and, without losing self-possession, calmly replied to each specific charge. Of the witnesses produced, the depositions were vague and nugatory. The prisoner looked in vain for Smeton, against whose perjuries it was not deemed expedient to oppose her appeals to justice : at length the prosecution closed, and Anne, unassisted by either counsel or advocate, undertook her own defence in an

eloquent and able speech which, as appears by an authentic document \*, excited a general expectation of acquittal ; but a different impression was created in the bosom of the prisoner, who beheld among her judges, not merely her enemies, but the slaves of a tyrant's will ; with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were associated the young Duke of Richmond, (who had been taught to prejudge the cause,) and the Chancellor Audley, who was required to make law consistent with injustice. Among

\* " Having an excellent quick wit, and being a ready speaker, she did so answer to all objections, that had the peers given in their verdict according to the expectations of the assembly, she should have been acquitted ; but they, among whom the Duke of Suffolk, the King's brother-in-law, was chief, and wholly applying himself to the King's humour, pronounced her guilty: whereupon the Duke of Norfolk was bound to proceed according to the verdict of the Peers, and condemned her to death, either by being burnt on the Tower Green, or beheaded, as His Majesty in his pleasure should think fit." — MS. account in the Harleian Miscellany.



these lords she distinguished her well-wisher, Cromwel, and Henry Earl of Northumberland. The latter sat with ill-disguised agitation, and, at length, on the plea of indisposition, abruptly quitted the apartment before the peers had pronounced the fatal verdict.

In hearing her sentence, and that she should be burnt or beheaded, Anne preserved an undismayed countenance; and, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, lifting up her hands, emphatically exclaimed, "O Father! O Creator! Thou art the way, and the truth, and the life: Thou knowest that I have not deserved this death;" then turning herself to her judges, and looking at her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord High Steward, she said, "My Lord, I will not say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my appeal ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all: I believe you have reason and occasion of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me; but

they must be other than those produced here in court, for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations, so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loyal wife to the King; I have not, perhaps, at all times shown him that humility and reverence that his goodness to me, and the honor to which he raised me did deserve. I confess I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion to resist; but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him, and I shall never confess any otherwise." \*

\* This is an extract from a letter written by a French gentleman, residing at that time in London, which is inserted in Meteren's *Historia Belgica*, and appears entitled to at least as much credit as any other historical document of the transaction. It should be observed, that this account agrees in every important circumstance with the brief detail preserved among the Harleian MSS., and published in Hargrave's *State Trials*. Both ascribe to Anne perfect self-possession and persuasive eloquence, and both agree in representing her as persisting in her innocence.

It is not clear on what grounds Anne Boleyn was convicted. \* It is certain that the evidence to support the charge of adultery failed †, and that it was rather treason which was pretended to be proved against her. The lawyers of that age were practised in casuistry for entrapping

\* The indictment charged her with having conspired against the King's life. In the case of Queen Catharine Howard, the fact of adultery was simply stated; but much circumlocution was employed to array in terror the vague and contradictory charges against Anne Boleyn. It is not pretended that either of her paramours was beloved, but that she ambitiously desired, by their means, to rule in the realm after the King's death, whose life was, therefore, presumed to be in danger; and in effect, as has been remarked by Mr. Lingard, he received a parliamentary congratulation for his escape from the supposed conspiracy. Although the original records of the trial have been destroyed, sufficient evidence remains to warrant the conclusion, that Anne was accused by perjury, and convicted by tyranny. See Statutes of the Realm.

† Of contemporary chroniclers, Polydore Virgil alone pretends that she was detected in her guilt; an assertion manifestly refuted by the positive evidence of Kingston and Cromwel, without referring to historical documents.

innocence and perverting justice. Wiatt conjectures that Anne was in reality condemned on the authority of some old law, or by a dexterous misapplication of the \*statute

\* “ And I may say, by their leaves, it seems themselves they doubted their proofes would prove their reproofes, when they durst not bringe them to the proofe of the light in open place. For this principal matter betweene the Queene and her brother, ther was brought forth indeede witnes, his wicked wife, accuser of her owne husband, even to the seeking of his blood, which I believe is hardly to be shewed of any honest woman, ever done; but of her, the judgment that fel out upon her, and the just punishment by law after, of her haughtiness, shew that what she did was more to be rid of him, then of true ground against him; and that it seemeth those noble men, that went upon the Queen’s life, found in her trial, when it may appear plainly by that defence of the knight, that oft hath been here mentioned, that the young noble man, the Lord Rochford, by the common opinion of men of best understanding, in thos days, was counted and then openly spoken, condemned only upon some point of a statute of words, then in force. And this and sondrie other reasons have made me think often, that upon some clause of the same law, they grounded their colour also against her, and that for other matters she had cleared her-

lately passed to ensure her personal protection; namely, that by which it was

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self wel enough. It seemeth some greate ones, then had in their hands in drawinge in that law to entangle, or bridle one another, and that some of them were taken in the same net, as good men then thought, worthely. Surely my Lord Cromwel and that younge lorde were taken in those entanglements, and the knight himself of whome is spoken, had hardly scapt it, as may apeere by his defence, if he had not by the well delivering of the goodnes of his cause, broken through it. And this may wel serve to admonish men, to be wel aware how far they admit law, that shall touch life, upon *construction of words*, or at the lest, admittinge them, how far they leave to lawyers, to interpret of them, and especially that thereby, they give not excuse to juries, to condemn the innocent, when sway of times should thrust matters upon them. Thus was she put upon her trial by men of great honor; it had bin good also if some of them had not bin to be suspected of *too much power*, and *no less malice*. The evidence was heard indeed; but close enough, as inclosed in strong walls; yet to shew the truth cannot by any force be altogether kept in holde, some belike of those honorable personages then, more perhaps for countenance of others' evil, than for means by their own authority to doo good, which also peradventure would not have bin, without their own certain perils, did not yet forbear

declared treason to slander the king's issue by Anne Boleyn. However this might be, Henry's passions carried him still farther: it was not enough that he should destroy his wife, he must even illegitimate her offspring, lest Jane Seymour also should bring into the world a daughter, to be supplanted by her elder sister Elizabeth. To secure himself from this contingency, he caused his marriage with Anne to be annulled, on the plea of her pre-contract with the Earl of Northumberland, in spite of that nobleman's protestations to the contrary. Whether Anne acknowledged the contract

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to deliver out voices, that caused every where to be muttered abroad, that that spotless Queene in her defence had cleared herself with a most wise and noble speech.

"Notwithstanding such a trial, such a judgment found her guiltie, and gave sentence of death upon her at home, whom others abroad, living to feel her los, found guiltles." — Wiatt's Life of the renowned Queen Anne Bolen.

is questionable \* ; although she appears to have admitted that certain impediments had existed to her marriage : but this extorted concession should rather be attributed to a generous solicitude for her family, than to any terrors inspired by the punishment with which she was menaced, a weakness never imputed to her by contemporary writers. Much speculation has been expended on Henry's motives for this supplemental vengeance ; but was it not consistent with his character, that he should secure the crown to the posterity of his intended queen ? Is it not also likely that the Duke of Norfolk, who constantly desired the re-union of England with the church of Rome, should suggest an expedient which apparently removed the great and only insuperable impediment to mutual reconciliation ?

After her condemnation, no dejection was

\* See Lingard's *History of Henry the Eighth*.

visible in Anne's deportment.\* Much of her time was spent in devotion; yet she often conversed with her wonted grace and animation; she quoted her favourite passages of poetry, and more than once recited lines from Wiatt's verses. The contemplation of her approaching dissolution no longer inspired terror; from the moment that her days were numbered, she appeared to dismiss all sublunary cares, to forget all personal sorrows; even on the 17th of May, when her brother and his unfortunate companions were executed†, she betrayed no violent emotion; and Kingston was surprised into the confession, that he had never before seen man or woman, who, like *this lady, rejoiced in the prospect of death*. On one occasion only, was this happy composure suspended. By a refine-

\* See the five letters from Kingston to Cromwel, published in Strype.

† Lord Rochford and his fellow-sufferers were executed on that day, on a scaffold without the Tower.



ment of cruelty, neither her father nor her mother had been permitted to approach her prison ; and it is even possible she was far from wishing to bid them an eternal farewell ; but she must have passionately desired to behold once more her child, in whose smiling countenance she might yet read some fair presage of futurity. Sensible that this rejected daughter would be left dependent on the capricious kindness of a step-mother, she recollected with grief and compunction, the occasional harshness with which she had herself treated the Princess Mary ; and, hoping perhaps to avert from her own Elizabeth the experience of those hardships she now believed she had inflicted on her elder sister, she prostrated herself at Lady Kingston's feet, compelled her to assume the chair of state, which still remained in her chamber, and to listen to an unreserved confession of whatever trespasses her conscience acknowledged towards that Princess ; nor would

she rise from that humble posture till she had obtained from Lady Kingston a solemn promise, that she would in like manner prostrate herself before Mary, and never desist from supplication, till she should have drawn from her lips a declaration of forgiveness. In this last conflict, when all the native sensibility of Anne Boleyn's character burst forth, it is scarcely possible to conceive that she would have incurred the guilt of perjury, by persisting in unauthorised asseverations of innocence. After an affecting scene with Lady Kingston, she continued to commune with her almoner till midnight. In the morning she arose with a serene aspect; and, on seeing Kingston, expressed regret that her execution was deferred till noon, adding, "I had hoped by this time the pain would be over." Kingston replied, "It would be no pain,—the headsman's stroke was so subtle." "True," returned she, "and I hear, he has an excellent sword, and

I have a little neck ;” and, putting her hand to her throat, she laughed heartily ; as if she wished to show that she equally despised fear, and disdained pity. But this occasional pleasantry did not suspend her serious reflections ; and she entreated Kingston to be present when she received the sacrament, that he might hereafter attest her protestations of innocence. Nor did her resolution falter when the fatal moment drew nigh, and when she for ever quitted that chamber in which she had been alternately lodged as a brilliant bride and a desolate prisoner.\* By a prudent precaution, strangers had been dismissed from the Tower, and not more than thirty persons were admitted to witness the catastrophe. By one of those few spectators, we

\* Anne Boleyn is traditionally believed to have been confined in a room in Beauchamp’s tower ; but it appears by Kingston’s letters that she was in the Lieutenant’s lodgings, where she was attended by his wife, and other individuals of her own sex.—See Bailey’s History of the Antiquities of the Tower.

are assured, that the Queen approached the platform \* with perfect composure ; that her countenance was cheerful, and retained all its wonted pre-eminence of beauty. As she advanced to the spot, she had to detach herself from her weeping attendants, whom she vainly attempted to reconcile to her destiny. Among these, the most cherished was Wiatt's sister, with whom Anne continued in earnest conversation till the parting moment, and then presented to her, with a benignant smile, a small manuscript prayer-book, which the afflicted friend was ever after accustomed to lodge in her bosom as a sacred relic of imperishable attachment.† To each of her other companions

\* The platform was erected on the Tower Green, now designated the Parade, and must have been nearly opposite to the Lieutenant's lodgings.

† It is pleasing to revert to the faithful attachment long preserved by the Wiatts for the memory of Anne Boleyn. The little biographical tract so often referred to was compiled from traditional records by a member of that family.

she made a similar bequest, beseeching them not to grieve, because she was thus doomed to die, but rather to pardon her for not having always treated them with becoming mildness: then ascending the scaffold, she addressed a few words to the spectators, of which the following is said to have been the purport: — “ Friends, and good Christian people; I am here in your presence to suffer death, whereto I acknowledge myself adjudged by law, how justly I will not say: I intend not an accusation of any one. I beseech the Almighty to preserve His Majesty long to reign over you: a more gentle or mild Prince never swayed sceptre.\* His bounty towards me hath been special. If

\* An acknowledgment of the King's goodness appears to have been the form generally used by culprits at the place of execution. The Duke of Buckingham also spoke of the King's clemency. It is, however, proper to remark that many discrepancies appear in contemporary chronicles, and that it is probable no faithful transcript of Anne's speech was ever published.

any one intend an inquisitive survey of my actions, I intreat them to judge favorably of me, and not rashly to admit any censorious conceit; and so I bid the world farewell, beseeching you to commend me in your prayers to God." This speech she uttered with a smiling countenance: then uncovering her neck, she knelt down, and fervently ejaculated: "To Jesus Christ I commend my soul!" But though her head was meekly submitted to the axe, the intrepidity with which she refused the bandage \* delayed the accomplishment of her sentence; the touching expression of her eyes disarmed, for the moment, her executioner, and it was at length by stratagem that he seized the moment for giving the stroke of death. At this crisis, an exclamation of anguish burst from the spectators, which was quickly overpowered by the discharge of artillery announcing the event,

\* See note at the end of the volume.

the last royal honor offered to the memory of Anne Boleyn. What report was made of her execution to Henry is unknown: but he was perhaps somewhat appeased by the gentle, submissive demeanor displayed in this awful scene; and, as from her knowledge of his character she had probably anticipated, soon restored to her daughter a large portion of his paternal favor.

It was not without reason, that Anne committed the vindication of her fame to time and truth. The citizens believed her destroyed by the intrigues of the court. The nobility, when they beheld Jane Seymour, on the next Whit-Sunday, invested with royal pageantry, could not but feel, she had been sacrificed to the King's passions. The Catholics discerned in this tragedy the judgment of Heaven; the Protestants detected the machinations of the Pope and the Emperor. Perhaps the remote source of her misfortunes might

be traced to superstition operating on the arbitrary spirit of Henry the Eighth, alarmed by the prediction, that the Tudors should not retain the sceptre of England, and yet inflexibly bent on transmitting the crown to his immediate posterity. To whatever cause might be ascribed the calamitous fate of Anne Boleyn, that it was unmerited, appears to have been generally allowed by all but the bigots whom she had offended, or the mercenary courtiers who basked in the sunshine of royal favor. But these convictions were stifled by slavish devotion to kingly power, till the subsequent exposure of Lady Rochford's infamy extorted a tardy acknowledgment of the injustice to which the most beneficent of queens had been sacrificed. As the principles of the Reformation gained ground, the people became more sensible of their obligations to the woman who had ever warmly supported the cause of humanity and truth ; and, although her remains were



left to neglect, her charities could not be consigned to oblivion: her munificence was her monument; her expanded sympathies, her open-handed bounty, her enlightened beneficence, all conspired to fix on Henry's ferocious despotism an indelible stain of infamy; and the enthusiasm which accompanied Elizabeth to the throne, was, in part at least, a tribute of gratitude and tenderness to the ill-fated Anne Boleyn.

## SUPPLEMENTAL REMARKS

ON THE

### BOLEYNS.

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To the Boleyns, no motto could have been so appropriate as that assumed by the House of Courtenoy, *ubi lapsus — quid feci?* Their rise had been slow and gradual; their fall was rapid and irretrievable, and after the death of Anne they never recovered dignity and importance.

The Earl of Wiltshire survived his ill-fated children but two years, and died, in 1538, at Hever, in whose parochial church his tomb is still pointed out to the curious visitor. For the Countess, contrary to her daughter's predictions, was reserved a longer term of existence; and, eventually, she lived to witness the death or disgrace of the majority of those Peers who sat in judgment

on her daughter. The Earl of Northumberland had soon followed the object of his juvenile affection to the grave, overwhelmed with shame and sorrow for the execution of his brother, Sir Thomas Percy, who had been involved in Aske's rebellion. Cromwel and Surry perished on the scaffold ; and the Duke of Norfolk was immured in the Tower, ere the remains of Anne's mother were consigned to the tomb of her ancestors, in the chapel at Lambeth, with this brief monumental inscription :

*Elizabeth Howard, some time Countess of Wiltshire.*

Mary Boleyn, her younger daughter, died in 1546, at Rochford Hall, Essex, leaving two children : a daughter, afterwards married to Sir Francis Knollys ; and a son, Henry Carey, created Baron of Hunsdon by Queen Elizabeth, in whose brilliant circle he was distinguished as the honest courtier. "The politicians," says Loyd, "followed Cecil ; the courtiers, Leicester ; and the soldiers, Hunsdon." The same author relates of him the following anecdote : — "When his retinue, which, in those times, was large, would have drawn on a gentleman that had returned him a

box on the ear, he forbade them in these soldier-like words: ‘ You rogues ! cannot my neighbour and myself exchange a box on the ear, but you must interfere ? ’ ” It was expected that he should be created Earl of Ormond or Wiltshire ; and his approved loyalty and valour might have challenged from Elizabeth a higher recompense than the restoration of those dignities. On his death-bed, when the letters-patent for the earldom were offered to his acceptance, he exclaimed, with his wonted frankness, “ If I was unworthy of these honors when living, I am unworthy of them now I am dying ! ” \*

The sons of this gallant nobleman enjoyed favour and consideration with James the First, and some of his female descendants married into noble families, but the fortunes of their house declined,

\* The fourth lineal descendant of this gallant peer was created Viscount Rochford, and Earl of Dover. In 1677, the earldom and viscounty being extinct, Sir Robert Carey became sixth Lord Hunsdon. In 1765, William Ferdinand Carey, the eighth Lord Hunsdon, dying without issue, the title again became extinct. The following inscription to the memory of a female descendant of Lord Hunsdon, confirms the fact that Mary Boleyn was the younger sister of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn : —

and the collateral branches of the Boleyns, in Kent and Norfolk, sunk into quiet obscurity.\*

It was impossible that the name of Anne Boleyn, or the memory of her misfortunes, should be consigned to oblivion. Traditions of her sufferings and her virtues were still generally and willingly received, and various metrical tales or ballads, founded on her tragical story, sufficiently evince that she continued to be an object of popular sympathy.

In the number of those poems which have been dedicated to her memory, the most remarkable is the following dirge, written in the reign of Henry the Eighth, which has been attributed to her own

Here lieth the body of the most virtuous and prudent Lady Elizabeth, Lady Berkeley, widow, daughter, and sole heir of George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, son and heir of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, son and heir of William Carey, and the Lady Mary his wife; second daughter and co-heir of Thomas Bullen, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, father also of Queen Anne Bullen, wife to King Henry the Eighth, mother of Queen Elizabeth, late Queen of England; which Lady Berkeley, after her pious pilgrimage of 59 years, surrendered her soul into the hands of her Redeemer, the 23d day of April, 1635.—Collier's Peerage, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges.

\* In Lamboard's *Perambulations in Kent*, published towards the middle of the seventeenth century, no mention is made of the Boleyns, so long the lords of Hever Castle.

pen, but may, with more probability, be traced to  
 Wiatt, or his accomplished sister, Margaret Lee.

*Doleful Complaint \* of Anne Boleyn.*

Defiled is my name full sore,  
 Through cruel spite, and false report  
 That I may say for evermore,  
 Farewell my joy—adieu comfort :  
 For wrongfully ye judge of me,  
 Unto my fame a mortal wound;  
 Say what ye list, it will not be,  
 Ye seek for that cannot be found:  
 Oh, death ! rock me on sleep,  
 Bring me on quiet rest ;  
 Let pass my very guiltless ghost  
 Out of my careful breast.  
 Toll on the passing bell,  
 Ring out the doleful knell,  
 Let the sound of my death tell ;  
 For I must die,  
 There is no remedy,  
 For now I die.  
 My pains, who can express ?  
 Alas ! they are so strong,  
 My dolour will not suffer strength  
 My life for to prolong.  
 Toll out the passing bell ;  
 Alone in prison strong,  
 I wail my destiny.  
 Worth, worth this cruel hap, that I  
 Should taste this misery !

\* This poem, first published in Hawkin's History of Music,  
 is confessedly of the age of Anne Boleyn.

Toll out the passing bell,  
 Ring out the doleful knell,  
 Let the sound my death tell;  
 For I must die,  
 There is no remedy,  
 And now I die.

Farewell, my pleasures past;  
 Welcome, my present pain:  
 I feel my torments so increase,  
 That life cannot remain.  
 Cease now the passing bell;  
 Rung is my doleful knell;  
 For the sound my death doth tell,  
 Death! draw nigh.

In another poem, composed in the middle of the seventeenth century, is contained a traditional history of Anne Boleyn, which represents her as having sacrificed to her ambition an early and sincere attachment.

They did her conduct to a tower of stone,  
 Whereas she should wail and lament her alone,  
 And condemned be, for help there was none;  
 Lo, such was her fortune!

She said, I came in once at this portail  
 Like a queen to receive a crown imperial;  
 Now I come to receive a crown immortal,  
 Lo, such is my fortune.

For mine offences ; I am full of woe :  
 Oh ! would I had hurt myself, and not me,  
 I had been well : an I done so ;  
 But such is my fortune.

All they that followed my line,  
 And to my favor did incline,  
 Well may they weep and band the time  
 That I found such fortune.

I had a lover stedfast and true ;  
 Alas ! that ever I changed for new.  
 I could not remember full sore anew  
 To have now this fortune.

But though I have my time mispent,  
 Yet give me not no misjudgment,  
 If God be pleased, be you content,  
 Beholding my fortune.\*

The lover alluded to was, probably, Henry Percy ; but, in reality, Anne merited not the reproach of inconstancy ; having been compelled to relinquish that engagement : and there is no reason to believe she ever formed another. Among the historians and chroniclers of the day, her character and conduct are uniformly praised or censured according to the religious or political tenets

\* The whole of this poem will be found in Dr. Nott's Life of Sir Thomas Wyatt.



of the respective writers. It is, however, worthy of remark, that all contemporary English chroniclers have either openly asserted or tacitly acknowledged her innocence; and the value of their testimony is not a little enhanced by the reflection that the major part of them could have had no personal motives to bias their partiality or warp their judgment. Cavendish composed his MS. in the reign of Mary. Hall published under the auspices of Edward the Sixth, and the Seymours. Speed wrote under another dynasty, to whom the vindication of Anne Boleyn's fame must have been perfectly indifferent. Among the earlier historians, the Bishop of St. Albans and Lord Herbert are decidedly in her favour. The life of Queen Anne Boleyn, by Wiatt, though confessedly panegyric, derives considerable importance from the light which it throws on several traditional passages of Fox, Heylin, and Sanders; and from the elucidation it occasionally affords of certain strange and otherwise inexplicable calumnies. In his *Statesmen and Favourites of England*, Loyd incidentally repels the accusations of certain Catholic writers: and as he enjoyed peculiar opportunities of obtaining information respecting the age of

Henry the Eighth, his authority is unquestionably entitled to respect.\*

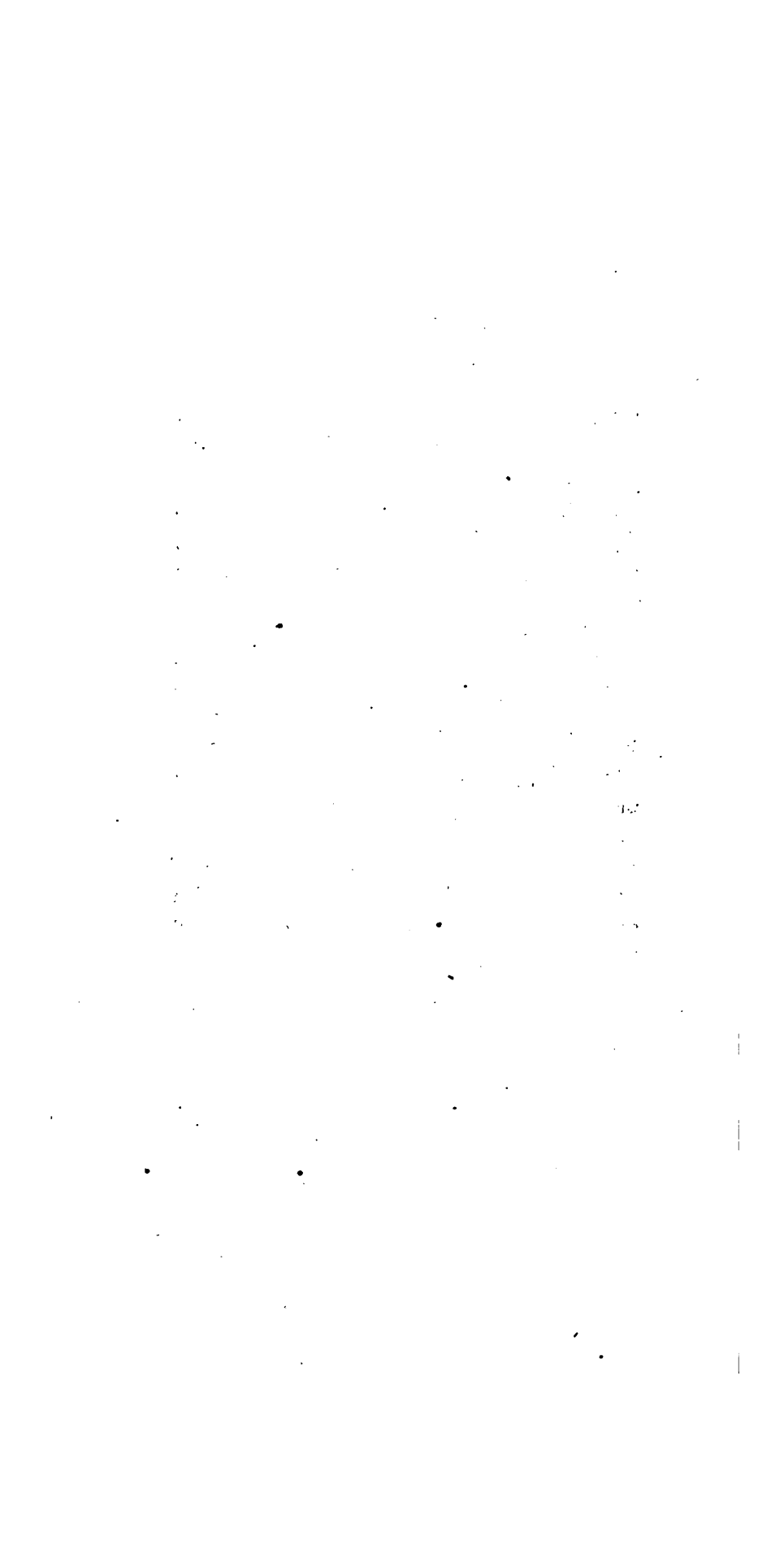
It is not surprising that the ostensible heroine of protestantism should have been grossly misrepresented by Spanish and Italian writers, the inveterate foes of heresy, and the bigotted defenders of the orthodox faith. But it has been observed, that even the more temperate French historians have equally impeached the honor and nuptial fidelity of Anne Boleyn; and, that it appears uncandid to fix on them, generally and nationally, the stigma of deliberate and systematic injustice. In answer to this objection, we have only to remark, that the French, in common with those Spanish and Italian writers, in whose prejudices they participated, have either substituted conjectures for facts, or derived their information from suspicious authorities, in direct opposition to more credible relations, and even to positive evidence. By some, the guilt of Anne Boleyn is assumed, on

\* Of Bishop Burnet, in common with some other protestants, it may be affirmed, that in his zeal to defend the honour of Henry the Eighth, he tacitly admits, that Anne had given some colour to his jealousy. Strype appears consistent and sincere. Fox is the advocate, Camden the admirer, Collier the friend of Anne Boleyn.

the pretext, that she was educated in the corrupt court of France, forgetting that this corruption of manners became not general till after the period of her childhood; and that on such questions hypothetical deductions cannot be admitted as historical truths. By others, her infamy is triumphantly proclaimed, on the evidence of Sanders, Marot, or Polydore Virgil, whose malicious or venal fabrications have been repeatedly controverted and refuted. It is a curious fact, that the misfortunes of Mary Stuart have perpetuated the wrongs of Anne Boleyn: the first champions of that ill-fated queen avenged her cause, by traducing the mother of her triumphant rival, and, from similar motives, the partizans of the exiled house of Stuart have continued to blacken her memory as the original promoter of heresy and the Reformation. The expulsion of the Stuarts might, with some plausibility, be traced to the personal agency of Anne Boleyn. The schism of England, by abolishing papal supremacy, extended the kingly power beyond its antient limits, and Henry the Eighth founded, on the doctrine of rights, sacred and divine, an enormous authority, which crushed with its weight the succeeding dynasty, and thus

led eventually to that happy Revolution which forms the true era of English liberty. Amidst the conflicts and distractions incident to religious feuds, it is a consolatory reflection that the Catholics, however aggrieved by the Reformation, soon participated in the benefits it was destined to confer on society. By the collision of powerful minds, a stronger impulse was given to the progress of knowledge and civilization. The emulation inspired by rival sects extorted correction for many of the abuses engrafted on the antient system. In the monasteries, attention was directed to the education of youth. Among the parochial clergy the genuine virtues of Christianity often took place of spurious piety; and, but for the influence of political faction and intrigue, the virulence of parties might soon have yielded to a perception of mutual interests, and to the truly evangelical precept of charity and concord.

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## APPENDIX.

No. 1.

# *The Pedigree of Boleyn.*

Thomas Boleyn, of the County of Norfolk, died April, 1411; buried at St. Lawrence, London.  
 Anna, daughter and heiress of Thomas Boleyn, died April, 1411; buried at St. Lawrence, London.

Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, Lord Mayor of London, died 1471; buried at St. Lawrence, aforesaid.  
 Anna, daughter of Thomas Lord Hoc and Hastings, died 1471; buried at St. Lawrence, aforesaid, with Richard III.; buried at Norfolk.

Thomas Boleyn, died 1471; buried at St. Lawrence, aforesaid.

Sir William Boleyn, of Bloking, Co. Norfolk, died 1505.

John Boleyn, died S. P.

Isabella, married to William Chaucer.

Alice, married to Sir John Fortescue.

Anna, married to Sir Henry Hayden.

Margaret, married to John Sackville.

James Boleyn, of Rickling aforesaid, died S. P.

Thomas Boleyn, = Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

Anna, married to Sir Thomas Clere.

Alice, married to Sir Robert Clere.

Edward = Anna, daughter and heir of Sir John Tempest.

Henry VIII. = ANNA, Countess of Pembroke, beheaded.

George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford.

1st husband. Sir William Cary, = Maria = Sir William Sudfield, Knt.

2d husband.

Elizabeth, Queen of England.

George Boleyn, beheaded, Dean of Litchfield.

Henry Cary, Baron Hunsdon.

J. HAWKER,  
 Richmond Herald.

\* Camden says she was born 1507.

## No. II.

*Rochford Hall and New Hall.*

ROCHFORD, in Essex, is forty miles from London. Henry the Second gave the manor of Rochford to a Norman family, who from hence assumed the name of Rochford. Sir Guy de Rochford established a market at Rochford in 1247. John de Rochford succeeded his uncle Guy; he was summoned by a *quo warranto*, to appear before the King's Justices Itinerant, to show by what right he claimed wreck of sea, tumbrell, emendation or assize, of beer and bread broken in Rochford: he boldly answered, "As for wreck of sea, that one John de Burgh, senior, granted to Guy his uncle, and that Henry had granted a charter for the other privileges, which he produced." The claim was established, and Rochford continued in his family till it became extinct. King Edward the Third granted it to William de Borham Earl of Northampton.

Before the year 1512, King Henry the Eighth granted the reversion of the manors of Borham,



and Little Waltham, in Essex, to Sir Thomas Boleyn.

The manor of Smeton, also in Essex, devolved on Sir Thomas Boleyn, in right of his mother Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Earl of Ormond; who possessed landed property, in England, equivalent to 30,000*l.* per annum; exclusive of considerable demesnes in Ireland, and 40,000*l.* in money, besides valuable jewels. From his mother, Margaret, also, Sir Thomas Boleyn inherited the manor of Rodings in the same county, and the manor of Legh or Lee; also the manor of Hawskwell Hall.

In 1522, King Henry granted the manor and advowson of Tabbing to Sir Thomas Boleyn.

In 1535, Henry granted the manor of Ralegh, in Essex, to Sir Thomas Boleyn; a sufficient proof that he had not then withdrawn his favor from his daughter Anne. King Henry the Eighth purchased of the Boleyns, New Hall, in Essex.

New Hall belonged to the crown till the queen granted it to Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, who bequeathed it to his brother, by whose son and successor it was sold to George Villiers, the infamous Duke of Buckingham, for 30,000*l.*; it

continued in that family till the civil wars, when it was sequestrated by Parliament; and afterwards purchased by Oliver Cromwell, who, in 1643, exchanged it for Hampton Court; and New Hall being again offered to sale, became the property of three opulent citizens, for the sum of 18,000*l*. On the Restoration, it reverted to the family of Villiers, and it was then transferred to Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who lived in it with great splendor. New Hall continued in this family till 1734, when it was transferred, by purchase, to Richard Hoare, Esq. who re-sold it to John Olons, Esq., by whom the size of the edifice was considerably diminished. According to tradition, Henry VIII. breakfasted in Epping Forest, contiguous to this palace, on the morning of Anne Boleyn's execution; and, on hearing the signal-gun, exclaimed, with joy, — "Away! unkennel the hounds." — *Moran's History of Essex.*

## No. III.

*The original French of the First Letter of Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn.*

[Extracted from the Harleian Miscellany.]

MA Maitresse et Amie; — moy et mon cœur s'en remettent en vos mains, vous suppliant les avoir pour recommander à votre bonne grace, et que par absence votre affection ne leur soit diminué. Car pur augmenter leur peine, ce seroit grand pitié, car l'absence leur fait assez, et plus que jamais je n'eusse pensé, en nous faisant rementevoir un point, d'astronomie qui est tel. Tant plus loinquie les Mores sont, tant plus éloigné est le soleil, et nonobstant plus fervent, aussi fait-il de notre amour, par absence nous sommes éloignéz et néanmoins il garde sa ferveur au moins de notre costè. Ayant en espoir la pareille du votre, vous assurant que de ma part l'ennuye d'absence déjà m'est trop grande, et quand je pense à l'augmentation de celui que par force faut il que je soufre, il m'est presque intollerable, s'il n'estoit en ferme espoir que j'aye de votre

indissoluble affection vers moy ; et pur le vous rementevoir alcune fois cela, et voyant que personnellement je ne puis etre en votre presence, chose la plus approchante à cela qui m'est possible au present je vous envoye est a dire, ma picture mise en brasselettes à toute la devise que deja scavez, me souhaitant en leur place, quant il vous plairoit c'est de la main de

Votre serviteur et amy,

H. R.

## No. IV.

*Coronation of Anne Boleyn.*

(Extract from Stow.)

ON Saturday, the one-and-thirtieth day of May, the Queene was conveyed through London in order as followeth:—To the intent that horses should not slide on the pavement, nor that the people should be hurt by the horses, the high streets where through the Queene should passe were all gravelled, from the Tower unto Temple-barre, and rayled on each side; within which rayles stood the crafts along in their order from Gracechurch, where the merchants of the Still-yarde stode, until the Little Conduit in the Cheape, where the aldermen stode; and on the other side of the streete stood the constables of the city, apparelled in velvet and silkes, with great staves in their handes, to cause the people to give roome, and keep good order; and when the streets were somewhat ordered, the maior in a gown of crimson velvet, and a rich collar of esses, with two

footmen clothed in white and red damaske, rode to the Tower, to give his attendance on the Queene, on whom the sheriffs, and their officers did awaite until they came to the Tower-hill, where they, taking their leave, rode down the high streets, commanding the constables to see roome, and good order kept, and so went and stood by the aldermen in Cheape: and before the Queene, with her train, should comē, Grace-street and Cornehill were hanged with fine scarlet, crimson, and other grained clothes; and in some places with rich arras; and the most part of Cheape was hanged with cloth of tissue, gold, velvet, and many rich hangings, whiche did make a goodly shew; and all the windows were replenished with ladies and gentlemen, to beholde the Queene and her traine as they should pass.

The first of the Queene's company that set forward, were twelve Frenchmen belonging to the French ambassador, cloathed in coats of blue velvet, with sleues of yellow and blue velvet, their horses trapped with close trappers of blew sarsonet, powdred with white crosses: after them marched Gentlemen, Esquires, Knights, two and two: after them the Judges: after them the Knights of the

Bathe; in violet gowns, with hoods pursed with miniver, like doctors. After them Abbotts, then Barons; after them Bishops; the Earls and Marquesses: then the Lord Chancellor of England; after him the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Ambassador of Venice; after them the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Ambassador of France; after rode two Esquires of Honour, with robes of estate, rolled and worne bauldrickewise about their necks, with caps of estate, representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine; after them rode the Lord William Howard, with the Marshall's rod, deputy to his brother the Duke of Norfolk, Marshall of England, who was ambassador then in France; and on his righte hand rode Charles Duke of Suffolke, for that day high constable of England, bearing the warder of silver, appertaining to the office of constableness; and all the Lords for the most part were clothed in crimson velvet, and all the Queene's servants or officers of armes in scarlet: next before the *Queene* rode her Chancellor, bareheaded, the serjeants and officers at armes rode on both sides of the Lordes. Then came the *Queene* in a white litter of white cloth of gold, not covered or braided, which was led by

two palfries clad in white damaske down to the ground, head and all, led by her footmen; she had on a kirtle of white cloth, of tissue, and a mantle of the same, furred with ermine, her hair hanging downe, but on her head she had a coif, with a circlet about it full of rich stones; over her was borne a canopy of cloth of gold, with four gilt staves, and four silver belles; for bearing of the which canopy were appointed sixteen Knights; foure to bear it in one space on foote, and foure another space, and foure another space, according to their own appointment. Next after the Queene rode the Lord Browgh, her chamberlaine; next after him William Coffin, master of her horses, leading a spare horse, with a side-saddle trapped down with cloth of tissue: after him rode seven ladies, in crimson velvet, turned up with cloth of gold and tissue, and their horses trapped with gold: after them two chariots, covered with red cloth of gold; in the first chariot were two ladies, which were the old Dutchesse of Norfolk, the old Marchionesse of Dorset; in the second chariot were four ladies all in crimson velvet; after them rode seven ladies in the same suite, their horses trapped and all; after them came the fourth



chariot, all red, with eight ladies, also in crimson velvet: after whom followed thirty gentlewomen, all in velvet and silke, in the livery of their ladies, on whom they gave their attendance; after them followed the garde, in coates of goldsmithes worke, in which order they rode forth till they came to Fanchurch, where was made a pageant all of children, apparelled like merchants, which welcomed her to the cittie, with two proper propositions, both in French and in English: and from thence she rode toward Gracechurch corner, where was a costly and marvellous cunning pageant, made by the merchants of the Still-yard; therein was the Mount Parnassus, with the fountain of Helicon, which was of white marble, and four streames without pipes did rise an ell high, and meet together in a little cup above the fountain, which fountain ran abundantly with rackt Reynish wyne till night. On the fountaine sate Apollo, and at his feete Calliope; and on every side of the mountaine sate four muses, playing on several sweete instruments, and at their feete epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which every muse, according to her property, praysed the Queene. From thence the Queene, with her

traine passed to Leadenhall, where was a goodly pageant with a tippe and heavenly rose; under the tippe was a goodly roote of golde set on a little mountaine, environed with red roses and white; out of the tippe came down a faulcon, all white, and set upon the roote, and incontinently came downe an angel with great melodie, and set a close crowne of golde on the faulcon's head; and in the same pageant sate St. Ann, with all her issue beneath her; and under Mary Cleophe sate her four children, of which children one made a goodly oration to the Queene, of the fruitfulness of St. Ann, and of her generation, trusting that the like fruit would come of her. Then she passed to the conduit in Cornehill, where were the three Graces set on a throne, afore whom was the spring of grace continually running wine; afore the fountain sate a poet, declaring the property of every grace; that done, every ladie by herself, according to her propertie, gave the Queene a several gift of grace.

That done she passed by the great conduit in Cheape, which was newly painted with armes and devices, out of which conduit (by a goodly fountain set at the end) ranne continually wyne, both

white and claret, all that afternoone; and so she rode to the Standard, which was richly painted with images of Kinges and Queenes, and hanged with banniers of armes, and in the top was marvellous sweete harmonie both of songs and instruments.

Then she went forward by the crosse, which was newly gilt, till she came where the alderman stood, and then Master Baker, the recorder, came to her with low reverence, making a proper and brief proposition, and gave to her, in the name of the cittie, a thousand markes in golde, in a golden purse, whiche she thankfully accepted with many good wordes, and so rode to the little conduite, where was a rich pageant of melody and songs, in which pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus, and afore them stood Mercuries, which, in the name of the three goddesses, gave unto her a ball of golde, divided in three, signifying three gifts, which these three goddesses gave her; that is to say, wisdom, riches, and felicitie.

As she entered into Paul's Gate, there was a pretty pageant, in which sate three ladies, richly cloathed, and in a circle on their head was written *Regina Anna, prospere, procede et regna*

The lady in the midst had a tablet, in which was written, *Veni, amica, coronaberis*; and under the tablett sat an angell with a close crowne. And the lady sitting on the right hand had a tablet of silver, in which was written *Domine dirige gressus meos*; and the third lady had a tablet of golde, with letters of azure, written *Confido in Domino*, and under their feet was written,

*Regina Anna paris regis de sanguine nata  
Et paries populis aurea sæcla tuis;*

And these ladies cast down wafers, on whiche the said two verses were written. From thence she passed to the east end of Paul's church, against the schoole, where stood a scaffold, and children well appavelled, which said to her divers goodly verses of poets translated into English, to the honor of the Kinge and her, which she highly commended, and then she came to Ludgate, which gate was garnished with golde and bisse; and on the leads of St. Martin's church stood a queere of singing men and children, which sang new ballets made in praise of her Grace. After that shee was passed Ludgate, shee proceeded toward

Fleet-street, where the conduit was newly painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the shalmes melodiously sounding. Upon the conduit was a tower with foure turrets, and in every turrett stood one of the cardinal vertues, with their tokens and properties, which had severall speeches, promising the Queene never to leave her, but to be aiding and comforting her: and in the midst of the tower closely was severall solemn instruments, that it seemed to be a heavenly noyse, and was regarded and prayed; and beside this the conduit ran wine, claret and red, all the afternoon: so she with her company, and the maior, rode forth to the Temple-bar, which was newly painted and repayred, where stood also divers singing men and children, till she came to Westminster-hall, which was richly hanged with cloth of arras, and newly glazed; and in the midst of the hall she was taken out of her litter, and so led up to the high daïs under the cloth of estate, on whose left hand was a cupboard of ten stages high, marveilous rich and beautiful to behold; and within a little season was brought to the Queene, with a solemn service, in great standing spice-plates, a voide of spice and subtleties,

with ipocrasse, and other wines, which shee sent down to her ladies, and when the ladies had drunke, she gave hearty thanks to the lordes and ladies, and to the maior, and others that had given attendance on her, and so withdrew herselfe with a few ladies to Whitehall, and so to her chamber, and there shifted her; and after went in her barge secretly to the Kinge to his manor of Westminster, where she rested that night.

On Whitsunday, the 1st of June, the maior, clad in crimson velvet, with his collar, and all the aldermen and sheriffes in scarlet, and the counsell of the city, took their barge at the Crane by seven of the clocke, and came to Westminster, where they were welcomed and brought into the hall by M. Treasurer, and other the Kinge's house, and so gave their attendance till the Queene should come forth: between eight and nine of the clock she came into the hall, and stood under the cloth of estate, and then came in the Kinge's chappel, and the monks of Westminster, all in rich copes, and many bishops and abbots in copes and mitres, which went into the midst of the hall, and there stood a season; then was there a ray cloth spread for the Queen's standing in the hall, through the

palace and sanctuary, which rayled on both sides to the high altar of Westminster; after the ray cloth was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed: first went Gentlemen, the Esquires, then Knights, the Aldermen of London, in their clokes of scarlet cast over their gownes of scarlet. After them the judges, in their mantles of scarlet and coifes: then followed the Knights of the Bath, being no Lords, every man having a white lace on his left sleeve: then followed the Barons and Viscounts in their parliament robes of scarlet: after them came Earles, Marquesses, and Dukes, in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, poudred according to their degrees; after them came the Lord Chancellor in a robe of scarlet, open before, bordered with lettice; after him came the King's chappell, and the monkes solemnly singing with procession; then came Abbots and Bishops mitred, then Sergeants and Officers at Armes; then the Maior of London with his mace, and Garter, in his coate of armes: then the Marques Dorset, in his robe of estate, which bare the scepter of gold, and the Earl of Arundel, which bare the rod of ivorie, with the dove both together; then alone the Earl

of Oxford, high chamberlaine of England, which bare the crowne; after him the Duke of Suffolk, in his robe of estate, for that day being high steward of England, having a white rod in his hand; and the Lord William Howard, with the rod of the marshall-ship, and every Knight of the Garter had his collar of the order.

Then proceeded forth the Queene, in a circote and robe of purple velvet, furred with ermine, in her hayre coife, and circlet as shee had on Saturday; and over her was borne the canoppye, by foure of the cinque portes all in crimson, with points of blew and red hanging over their sleeves, and the Bishops of London and Winchester bare up the lapets of the Queene's robe; and her train, which was very long, was borne by the old Duchesse of Norfolk; after her followed Ladies, being Lords' wives, which had circotes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves; the breast all lettice, with barres of pouders, according to their degrees, and over that they had mantles of scarlet, furred, and every mantle had lettice about the necke, like a neckerchiefe, likewise poudered, so that by their poudering their degrees might be knowne. Then followed Ladies, being Knights' wives, in gownes



of scarlet, with narrow sleeves without traines, only edged with lettice; likewise had all the Queene's gentlewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the midst of the church betweene the queere and the high altar, shee was set in a riche chaire, and after that she had rested awhile, shee descended downe unto the high altar, and there prostrated herself, while the Archbishop of Canterbury said certain collectes over her. Then shee rose, and the Archbishop anointed her on the head and on the breast: and then shee was led up agayn to her chayre, where, after divers orisons said, the Archbishop satt the crown of St. Edward on her head, and then delivered her the scepter of golde in her right hand, and the rod of ivory, with the dove, in the left hand, and then all the queere sung *Te Deum*, &c.; which done, the Bishop took off the crowne of St. Edward, being heaue, and sett on her heade the crowne made for her, and so went to masse; and when the offering was began, she descended downe and offered, being crowned, and so ascended up againe, and sat in her chaire till *Agnus* was said, and then she went down and kneeled before the high altar, where shee received

of the Archbishop the holy sacrament, and then went up to the place againe: after that mass was done, she went to St. Edward's shrine and there offered. After which offering was done, shee withdrew her into a little place made for that purpose on one side of the queere. Now in the meane season every Duchesse put on her bonnet a coronelle of golde wrought with flowers, and every Marchionesse put on a demi-coronell of golde wrought with flowers, and every Countesse a plain circle of golde wrought with flowers, and every King at Armes, put on a crowne of copper and gilt, all which were worne till night.

When the Queene had a little reposed her, the company, in the same order that they set forth, and the Queene went crowned and so did the ladies aforesaid: her right hand was sustained by the Earle of Wiltshire, her father, and her left by the Lord Talbot, deputy for the Earle of Shrewsbury, and Lord Furnivall, his father. And when shee was out of the sanctuary within the pallacé, the trumpets played marveylous freshly, and so shee was brought to Westminster-hall, and so to her withdrawing chamber, during which the Lordes, Judges, Maior, and Aldermen, put off

their robes, mantles, and cloaks, and took their hoods from their necks, and cast them about their shoulders, and the Lordes sate only in their sircotes, and the Judges and Aldermen in their gownes, and all the Lordes that served that day, served in their sircotes, and their hoods about their shoulders. Also divers officers of the Kinge's house, being no Lordes, had sircotes, and hoods of scarlet edged with miniver, as Treasurer, Controller, and Master of the Jewell-house, but their sircotes were not gilt. While the Queene was in her chamber, every Lord and other that ought to do service at the coronation, did prepare them according to their dutie, as the Duke of Suffolke, High Steward of England, which was richly apparelled, his doublet and jacket set with orient pearle, his gowne crimson velvet embroidered, his courses clapped with close trapper head, and all to the ground crimson velvet, sett full of letters of golde of goldesmith's worke, having a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the Lord William, deputy for his brother, as Earle Marshall, wito the Marshall's rod, whose gown was crimson and velvet, and his horse trapper purple velvet cutt on white sattine, embroidered with white

lions. The Earle of Oxford was High Chamberlaine; the Earle of Essex, carver; the Earle of Sussex, sewer; the Earle of Arundele, chiefe butler, on whom twelve citizens of London did give their attendance at the cupboard; the Earle of Darby cup-bearer; the Viscount Lisle, painter; the Lord Burgeiny, chief larder; the Lord Bray, almoner for him and his co-partners; and the Maior of Oxford kept the buttery bar; and Thomas Wiat was chosen ewerer, for Sir Henry Wiat, his father.

When all these things were ready and ordered, the Queene under her canopy, came into the hall, and washed, and satte down in the midst of her table, under her cloth of estate; on the right side of her chaire stood the Countess of Oxford, widdow: and on her left hand stood the Countesse of Worcester, all the dinner season, which divers times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the Queen's face, when she list to spit, or do otherwise at her pleasure; and at the table's end sate the Archbishoppe of Canterbury; on the right hand of the Queene, and in the midst between the Archbishoppe and the Coun-

tesse of Oxford, stode the Earle of Oxford, with a white staff, all dinner time.

When all these things were thus ordered, came in the Duke of Suffolke, and the Lord William Howard, on horseback, and the Serjeants of Armes before them; and after them the sewer, and then the Knights of the Bathe, bringing in the first course, which was eight-and-twenty dishes, besides subtilties, and shippes made of waxe, marvellous gorgeous to beholde, all which time of service the trumpets standing in the window, at the nether end of the hall, played. When she was served of two dishes, then the Archbishoppe's service was set downe, whose server came equal with the third dish of the Queene's service on his left hand. After that the Queene and the Archbishoppe were served, the Barons of the Ports began at the table at the right hand next the wall. Then at the table sate the Master and Clerks of Chauncerie, and beneath them other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on the left hand by the cupboard, was begun by the Maior and Aldermen, the Chamberlaine and Councill of the City of London; and beneath them sate substantiall merchants, and so downwarde other

worshipfull persons. At the table on the right hand, in the midst of the hall, sate the Lord Chancellor, and other temporal Lordes, on the right hand of the table, in their sircotes; and on the left side of the same table sate Bishops and Abbots, in their parliament robes: beneath them sate Judges, Serjeants, and the Kinge's Councell; beneath them the Knights of the Bathe. At the table on the left hand, in the middle part, sate Duchesses, Marquesses, Countesses, Baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circotes, and gentlewomen in gownes; all which gentlewomen and ladies sate on the left side of the table along, and none on the right side; and when all were thus sett, they were incontinent served so quickly, that it was marvellous, for the servitors gave so good attendance, that meat, nor drink, nor any thing else needed to be called for, which in so great a multitude was marvell. As touching the fare there could be devised no more costly dishes nor subtilties. The Maior of London was served with four-and-twenty dishes at two courses, and so were his brethren, and such as sate at his table.

The Queen had at her second course four-and-twenty dishes, and thirtie at the third course; and

betweene the last courses, the kings of armes, crowned, and other officers of armes, cried *largesse* in three parts of the hall, and after stood in their place, which was in the bekens of the Kinge's Bench; and on the right hand out of the Cloyster of St. Stephen's Chappel was made a little closet, in which the Kinge, with diuers ambassadors, stoode to beholde the service. The Duke of Suffolke and the Lord William, rode oftentimes about the hall, cheering the Lordes, Ladies, and Maior, and his brethren. After they in the hall had dined, they had wafers and ipocrase, and then they washed, and were commanded to stand still in their places before the tables, or on the formes, till the Queene had washed. When shee had taken wafers and ipocrase, the table was taken up, and the Earle of Rutland brought up the surnape, and laid it on the boord's end, which immediately was drawn and cast by Maister Read, Marshall of the Hall, and the Queene washed, and after the Archbishop; and after the surnape was withdrawn, then shee rose, and stood in the midst of the hall place, to whom the Earle of Sussex in goodly spice plate, brought a void of spices and confections. After him the Maior of

London brought a standing cup of golde, set in a cup of assay of golde; after that shee had drunke, she gave the Maior the cup, with the cup of assay, because there was no cover, according to the claim of the city, thanking him and all his brethren of their paine. Thenshee, under her canopie, departed to her chamber, and at the entry of her chamber, she gave the canopie with bells and all, to the Barons of the ports, according to their claime, with great thanks; then the Maior of London, bearing his cup in his hand, with his brethren, went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noblemen, and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke.

In Leland's Collectanea is preserved a circumstantial account of the coronation of Elizabeth, Mother of Henry the Eighth, which; though closely corresponding with that of Anne Boleyn, is marked by some superstitious formalities, evidently adapted to the age of Henry the Seventh.

In the procession to Westminster, she was arrayed in a kirtle of white cloth of gold of damask; a mantle of the same cloth, furred with ermine, and laced on her breast; her fair yellow hair flowed down her back, with a caul of pipes over



it ; she had a circlet of gold richly garnished with precious stones on her head ; her train was borne by the Lady Cecil, her sister. She proceeded, in royal state, to her litter, the timber work of which was covered with cloth of gold of damask, and large pillows of down, covered with like cloth of gold, laid about her royal person to sustain the same. In this manner she was conveyed through the streets, which were decorated with tapestry. On either side were ranged the different crafts of London, in their liveries ; also, there was a marvellous sight of people. Nor were pageants wanting ; and little children, dressed as angels, or virgins, saluted the Queen with songs as she passed. Immediately before the litter rode the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Oxinford, with three noblemen. The Lord Mayor, and a train of knights followed. The marshal's officers were ready to interpose with their tipstaves, to keep order among the people. Over the Queen's head a canopy of gold was borne, by four knights, who were alternately relieved, twelve being appointed to this honorable office. Behind the litter was a lady's palfrey, led by the Queen's master of the horse, and after him followed several henchmen.

After these came the Princess Cecil, and four ladies, in chairs, followed by several baronesses, on horseback. A long train of gentlewomen closed the procession. On the following day, Elizabeth, arrayed in purple velvet, was conducted in solemn state from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, her sister, the Lady Cecil, again bearing her train: Esquires and knights came first; next the new knights of the bath; after them barons. The heralds on one side; and, to preserve order, the serjeants at arms on the other; then followed abbots, bishops, the Archbishop of York; the King's garter at arms; the Lord Mayor; next came the Earl of Arundel, bearing the ivory rod; the Duke of Suffolk, with the sceptre; the Earl of Oxenford, with his chamberlain's staff; the Duke of Bedford bore the crown of gold. The Queen and her ladies followed.

*"But the more pitie ther was so hoge a people in-ordynately presing to cut the ray cloth, that the Queene's grace gede upon; so that, in the presence, certeyne persons were slayne, and the order of the ladies following the Queene was broken."*

The actual ceremony of the coronation appears to have been extremely tedious. The Queen remained prostrate before the altar whilst the Arch-

bishop pronounced over her the orison, "Deus qui solus habes;" that done, she arose, and knelt down again; when, the coif being removed from her head, and the handkerchief from her neck, the Archbishop anointed her head and breast; he next blest her ring, and sprinkled on it holy water; then, having blest the crown, he set it on her head, on which was put a coif for the preservation of the holy unction, afterwards to be delivered to the Archbishop; then he put into the Queen's right hand a sceptre, and a rod in her left hand, saying this orison, "Omnipotens Domine." The Queen was led thrice from the altar to her royal seat; when the Agnus Dei being sung, she again descended and came to the altar, where she received the sacrament, after which the mass was concluded. The Queen was then conducted in solemn state to the shrine of St. Edward, on whose altar her crown was deposited, by the Archbishop, and thus ended the ceremony; of which the King and his mother had a full view from a platform on the opposite side, prepared for their reception. During dinner, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Nottingham, rode up and down the hall, each mounted on a courser, superbly

trapped and decorated. On the Queen's entrance, Catharine Gray and Mistress Ditton took their station at her feet, whilst the Countess of Oxinforde and the Countess of Rivers knelt, one on each side of her chair, and at certain times held a kerchief before her grace. At the end of the hall, on high, before the window, ther was made a stage for the trumpets and minstrels, who, when the first course was set forward, began to blow. The Lord Fitzwater as server, in his surcot, with taborde sleeves, a hood about his necke, and his towel above all, served the messes as ensueth, all borne by knights.

Furst, a Warner before the Course.

Sheldes of brawn in armor.

Frumenty with venison.

Bruet riche.

Hart powdered graunt chars.

Fesante intramde royale.

Swan with chawdron.

Capons of high goe.

Lamperey in galantine.

Crane with cretney.

Pik in latymer sauce.

Heronusar with his soque.

Carpe in foile.

Kid reversed.

Perche in jeloy depte.

Conies of high Grece.  
 Moten roiall richely garnished.  
 Valance baked.  
 Custarde royale.  
 Tarte Poleyn.  
 Leyse damaske.  
 Fruit synoper.  
 Fruit formage.

A soteltie with writing of balads, which as yet I have not.

The Second Course.

A Warner before the course.

Ioly Ipocras.

Mamane with lozenges of gold. Peacocks. Bitterns.  
 Pheasants. Cocks. Partridges. Sturgeon. Plovers. Rabett.  
 Sowker. Red Shanks. Snipes. Quails. Larks ingrailed.  
 Gwerde eudence. Venison in paste royal. Quince baked.  
 Marchepanes royal, a cold baked meat flourished. Lithe  
 Ciprus. Castles of jelly in Temple wise made. A soteltie.

After the dinner, largess was thrice proclaimed  
 by Garter King of Arms, *de la très hault, très  
 puissant, très excellent princesse, la très Chrétienne  
 reyne de France, de Angleterre, et dame d'Irlande.*  
 And when the Queen was up and had washed,  
 and grace said, she came into the voyde. Then  
 blew the trumpets, and the Mayor of London, Sir  
 William Horne, served the Queene of Ipocras,  
 and after of the spices; and tooke his cup of gold  
 covered for his fee; and then the Queene de-

parted with God's blessing, and to the rejoicing of many a true Englishman's heart.

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No. V.

*Anne Boleyn's Dower.*

By a curious folio preserved in the British Museum, it appears that Henry the Eighth made, first to Anne Boleyn, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, the grant of certain manors in Wales and Somerset, Hertford and Essex for the maintenance of her dignity, as Marchioness of Pembroke. Secondly, in the same year, a grant of the manor, palace, and park of Hanworth. Thirdly, in the twenty-fifth of his reign, a grant of deed of dower and jointure as Queen of England. Fourthly, a grant of certain lands under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster. To this is annexed a grant of certain royal privileges and immunities; also an abstract of the act of Parliament, confirming the said grants, dated Westminster 3d of April, 25th of the reign of Henry the Eighth.\*

\* See No. 303. of the Harleian Miscellany.

In the Statutes of the realm, chapter 25., Henry VIII., will be found an elaborate detail of all the manors, parks, castles, &c. included in the marriage-jointure of Anne Boleyn, who is styled Queen of England and France, and Lady of Ireland. Her revenue cannot be ascertained from this document, but it appears to have been fully equal to what was enjoyed by Catharine of Arragon.

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No. VI.

ANNE BOLEYN being on the scaffold, would not consent to have her eyes covered with a bandage, saying, that she had no fear of death. All that the divine who assisted at her execution could obtain from her, was, that she would shut her eyes; but, as she was opening them at every moment, the executioner could not bear their tender and mild glances: fearful of missing his aim, he was obliged to invent an expedient to behead the Queen. He drew off his shoes, and approached her silently; while he was at her left hand, another person advanced at her right, who made a great noise in walking, so that this circum-

stance drawing the attention of Anne, she turned her face from the executioner, who was enabled, by this artifice, to strike the fatal blow, without being disarmed by that spirit of affecting resignation which shone in the eyes of the lovely Anne Boleyn.

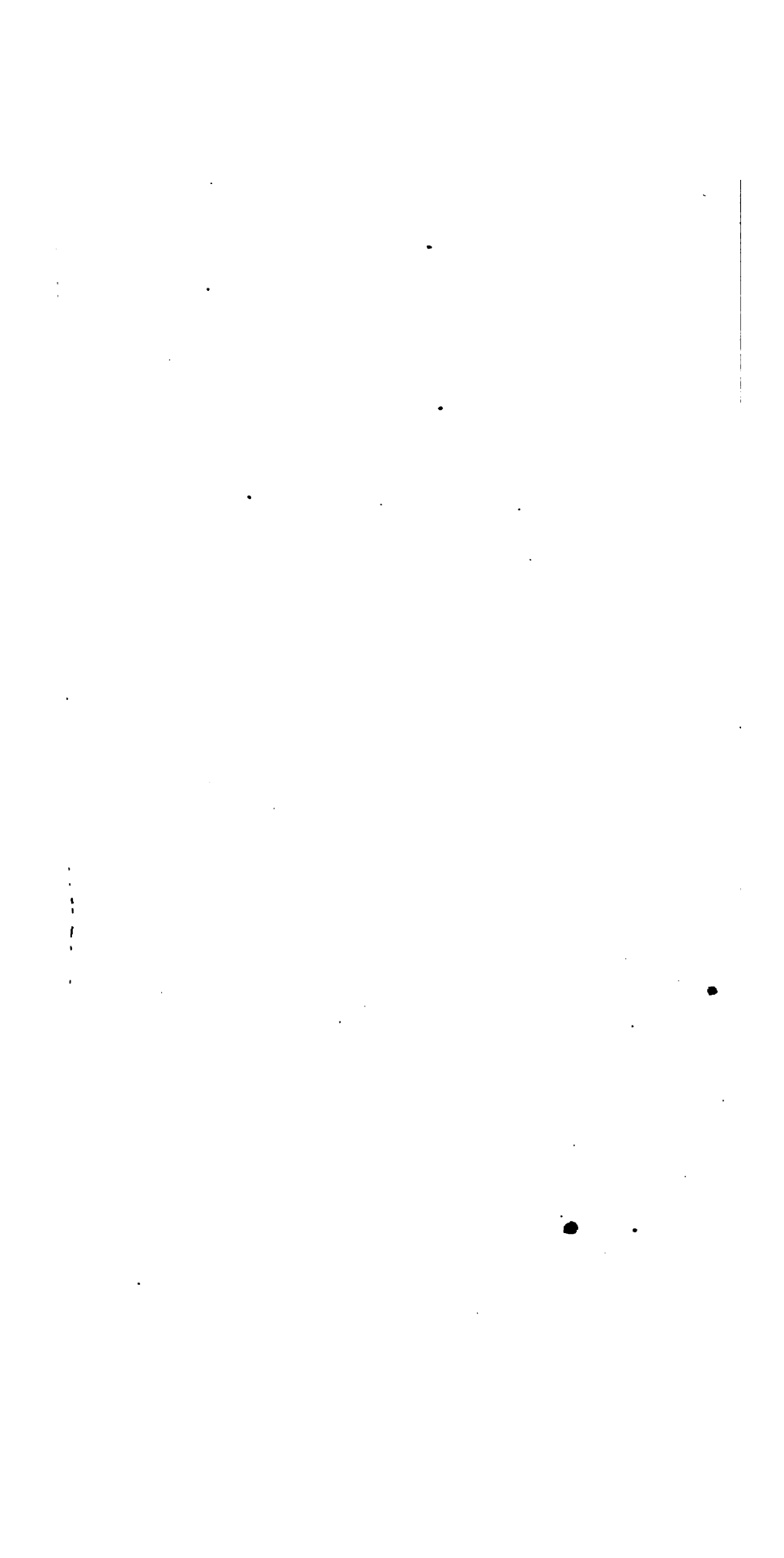
“ The common executioner,  
Whose heart th’ accustomed sight of death makes hard,  
Falls not the axe upon the humbled neck,  
But first begs pardon.” — SHAKESPEARE.

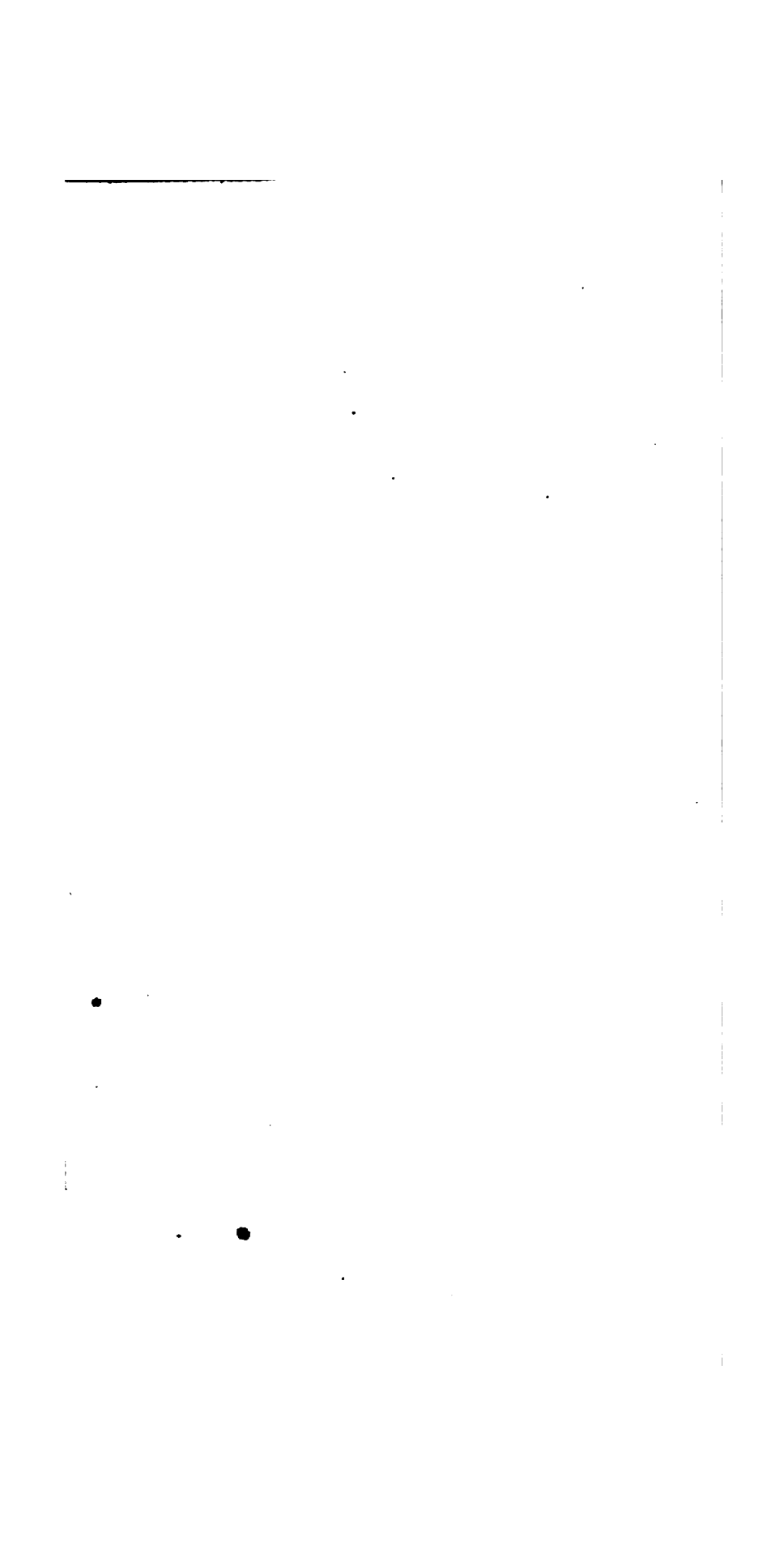
*D’Israeli’s Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 297.

THE END.



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